

THE ECONOMY OF ACTORS IN PLAUTUS

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE BOARD OF UNIVERSITY STUDIES
OF THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY IN CONFORMITY WITH
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

CARRIE MAY KURRELMEYER

1929

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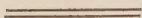
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Table of Contents.

	Page
Introduction	3
Chapter I The Unmotivated early Exits and late Entrances	17
Chapter II The Narrative substituted for important Scenes	45
Chapter III The Doubling of the Rôles	52
Chapter IV The Omission of important Scenes	88
Conclusion	98
Index	100
Vita	103



TO
THE MEMORY OF
MY HUSBAND
DR. ERNST ZINTL,
FEBRUARY 25, 1902 — MARCH 15, 1932,
MARIENBAD, Č. S. R.



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Introduction.

It is a well-known fact that Plautus and Terence as well as the Greek writers produced their plays with fewer actors than the list of *dramatis personae* called for. In fact they doubled rôles as Shakespeare did, but to a far greater extent. In Greek plays a stage convention¹ for some time maintained a limit of three speaking parts that the primitive plays employed. In time, as plays became more elaborate, more characters were employed, but the number of actors did not increase to the same extent, whether for reasons of convention or because of the cost of production. The New Comedy made free to use four actors² and apparently five at times, but hardly more, even when there were as many as twelve characters in the play. The dramatist in such cases made every effort to dispose the dialogue throughout the play in such a manner that some of the actors could manage two, three, and on occasion, even four rôles.³

Plautus and Terence usually adapted Greek plays that had been written for three or four actors. If they had merely translated plays already carefully composed in such a way that the actors could readily change their rôles, we should hardly find any difficulty in assigning the various rôles. But they did not merely translate. Among other things they combined parts of different originals, they removed the choral interludes which in the original had given abundant time for changes of garb, and they introduced singing in the dramatic parts, which doubtless threw heavier burdens upon some rôles than they had borne in the original. They also made free to interpolate and excise at pleasure; Terence for instance added three characters to the original of his *Andria*. As a consequence we have no very clear evidence of how the plays were staged as regards the distribution of the rôles.

Attempts⁴ have been made to reconstruct the distribution on the hypothesis that any number of actors might be assigned to Plautus that convenient arrangement calls for. Before offering a new study of the plays in detail, it is necessary to discuss the *a priori* probabilities of stage economics at Rome.

There are reasons for thinking that Plautus might have been tempted to use a larger troupe than Greek poets did. The Greeks used masks for tragedy and comedy alike, which of course made it possible for one actor to play different rôles without danger of recognition.⁵ Though the evidence is not wholly consistent, it would seem that Plautus and Terence did not employ masks. Festus, in explaining the phrase *personata fabula*, suggests that Naevius may have used masks, but

does not commit himself by any definite statement, indicating rather that they were not introduced until many years later.⁶ Donatus definitely asserts that Cincius Faliscus and Minucius Prothymus brought masks to Rome,⁷ while Cicero attributes the innovation to Roscius,⁸ and states that the older Romans of his time preferred to see the actor's face and eyes. Quintilian, writing later, referring apparently to variety shows, repeats in general the sentiments of Cicero and shows that the preference of the Romans to "see the unmasked face"⁹ of the actors existed even in the empire. These statements all date from the time when the Romans, already fastidious,¹⁰ not only appreciated, but even demanded that facial expression be an important factor in differentiating character types. In the time of Plautus when drama was new, and great actors almost unknown, the *personae* were distinguished by garbs that were easily changed and wigs whose colors indicated differences in age,¹¹ while masks do not seem to have been used until long after Plautus. We may therefore assume that Plautus had a greater difficulty in doubling rôles than the Greeks had had who used masks. Presumably the Romans of the early day felt the need of a special actor for each major rôle at least, so that a large troupe of actors would have been desirable to produce a play which the Greeks could have staged with a comparatively small group. Whether they actually satisfied the need will have to be considered.

The occasional use of *contaminatio* probably increased the length of a play, obliterated the original distribution of rôles, and at the same time tended to increase the number of characters. If the poet wrote carelessly or hurriedly there was always the possibility that a larger troupe was needed for the resulting play, than had been required by either one of the contaminated originals. Modern scholars have argued more or less convincingly that many of the Plautine plays are contaminated, yet Latin literature offers very few definite statements on this subject. Terence speaks of it as no uncommon thing with Naevius, Plautus, and Ennius,¹² and tries to defend himself against those who had been censuring him, by saying that he is following the example of his predecessors.¹³ Plautus himself never speaks of it, unless it be in the *Casina* prologue.¹⁴ If these poets contaminated the Greek plays as freely as the Terentian prologues imply, then, unless they were very careful, they might easily have required larger troupes to give their plays.

There is another factor which might tend to increase the size of an actors' company at Rome beyond that of one at Athens — the financial backing. At Athens as well as at Rome the state supervised the festivals at which plays were given, but the citizens were required by law to contribute by bearing the expenses of the chorus as part of the *leitourgia*, while the state may or may not have paid all the actors.¹⁵ At Rome the senate always appropriated a sum for the festivals,¹⁶ as early as 200 B. C.¹⁷ This money was turned over to the praetor, aedile, or other magistrate¹⁸ in charge of the games, to use as he thought best. With

this money he had to build the stage and arrange for the seating of the audience, provide dressing rooms for the actors, pay the manager who bought the play from the poet and contracted with the actors,¹⁹ as well as arrange for the contests in the circus. How much of this money was spent on actors' wages cannot be said with certainty, since Cicero, referring to the wealth of Roscius and Aesopus, is the first to record specific amounts. In addition to the sums assigned by the senate, the praetor or aedile was frequently willing to contribute generously from his own purse in order to make his games a success. We may therefore assume that at Rome the question of economy did not always tend to restrict the troupe as at Athens. This however is a matter on which there is little direct evidence.

For such reasons then, Plautus and the other early dramatists might have taken over Greek comedies into Latin without limiting the number of actors as severely as did the Greek poets. However there are serious reasons for supposing that the first Roman dramatists were fully as economical in the use of actors as Menander. We need not here consider Horace's well-known dictum, for he was giving rules for the composition of plays on the strictest Greek models.²⁰ Nor does the much-quoted discussion of Evanthius²¹ seem to be based upon historical research, but rather upon theoretical grounds, since he connects the fifth actor with the rather later acceptance of five acts. Furthermore the statement of Diomedes²² is too general to assign to any definite epoch: it may refer to later productions. At any rate there was probably no evidence available in his day regarding the number of actors used in the original production of plays of Naevius and Plautus.

There is nevertheless good reason for believing that the earliest poets did not use large troupes. In the first place, good actors must have been very scarce at that day. The Roman plays had not grown directly out of a state cult, as had the Greek from the Dionysiac ritual, and had not been an integral part of the festivals from the very earliest times. They had been added to the *Ludi magni* in 240 B. C., when Livius Andronicus produced the first translation of a Greek play, and were then given no more religious importance than the circensian games, which were merely a form of popular amusement. As a form of popular amusement, the plays offered no greater honors to the actors participating in them, than the games afforded the athletes. These games and plays were sufficiently closely connected with religion to cause the Romans to be very careful in seeing that they were carried out properly,²³ and that actors as well as other participants were of good standing in the community. But they were not of such religious importance to guarantee to the participants glory and prestige merely because they were such. In Athens the situation was different: there mere participation in the festivals carried with it honor. The citizens bore a great part of the expenses, and the poet, himself an actor and *chorodidasalos* in the early days, trained the chorus assigned to him by the archon eponymous. Later the choragus, who gathered and

trained the chorus, shared the prizes with the successful poet and actors. Besides the prizes given to the three best companies, there were special honors given to the most successful. Individuals who repeatedly distinguished themselves, thus becoming outstanding favorites of the people, were frequently chosen to represent the state in important negotiations such as those concerning terms of peace with Macedon.²⁴ There was then much to encourage Athenians to enter the actor's profession. In Rome there never were any contests with corresponding honors for successful companies. There the aim was to please the audience and receive the applause requested in so many of the prologues of Plautus and Terence. Occasionally in Plautus' day,²⁵ as well as in that of Cicero,²⁶ and Horace,²⁷ good playing was rewarded with a palm. But references to honors such as were accorded Greek victors are entirely lacking before the time of Cicero. In such traditions it is difficult to see what would induce Roman citizens to take up the actor's profession in the days when only a few plays were given each year.

Good pay, which could have compensated for this lack of honors, was probably not given actors. The official in charge of the games had to spend a good part of the appropriation for the building and other preparations that would please the people. He made the contract with the *dominus gregis* who bought the play from the poet,²⁸ and hired the actors, and probably kept expenses at a minimum. Outside of the senatorial appropriation, there was no other dependable source of income with which the expenses of the public games could be paid, for there was no admission fee charged. Private games given by rich men at triumphs and funerals were still rather infrequent in Plautus' day, and when given were intended to impress the people and gain their good will, rather than to make money. It was not until the later empire when the crowds became almost unmanageable that reserved tickets were sold for the convenience of those who did not wish to stand in the mob before the gates were opened. But even these receipts brought little income to the magistrate in charge, and would not tempt him to spend any more than was absolutely necessary on actors' pay.

Even public performances were given so rarely during the years of Andronicus', Naevius' and Plautus' activity that no man could have made his living as an actor. Scenic performances were first added to the *Ludi Romani* in 240 B. C. when Livius Andronicus' first play was given; at that time there was probably only one day for plays, which by 214 B. C. had been increased to four.²⁹ The *Ludi plebei*, instituted in 220 B. C., added at least one day for dramatic performances since Plautus' *Stichus* was staged³⁰ at one such festival. At the advice of the Sibyl the *Ludi Apollinares* were held for the first time in 212 B. C., again offering circus games for one day.³¹ In 208 B. C. this was probably the thirteenth of July,³² to which by 190 B. C. the eleventh and twelfth had been added,³³ yet in connection with these games, no play is recorded before the *Thyestes* of

Ennius³⁴ in 169 B. C. From 194 B. C.³⁵ the Megalesia, at which the *Pseudolus*³⁶ and three of the Terentian plays³⁷ were later performed, included comedy. For the *Ludi Ceriales*, instituted in 202 B. C., there is no dramatic tradition before the empire,³⁸ and they may not have been more than circensian until the time of Augustus.³⁹ Before 200 B. C. therefore there is no definite evidence that there were more than four days on which the public games included *ludi scaenici*, though by 190 B. C. the number may have been increased to seven or eight. This lack of opportunity and demand would necessarily limit the supply of good actors, and would prevent a man from taking up acting as a profession to which he would devote all his energy. By the time of Cicero⁴⁰ the number of days for plays had increased greatly, the senate was appropriating greater sums,⁴¹ and rich men were sending their slaves to be trained by those actors who had acquired wealth and fame. These slaves, if they were talented, became a source of steady income to their masters.⁴² Such practices were however impossible when dramatic performances were a new and infrequent institution, and very few important personalities figure in the early history of Roman drama.

A brief review of what we know of early actors will show that though respectable and of good standing in the community, actors had not become numerous much before the time of Cicero, and that very few attained the perfection necessary to make a great name. Livius Andronicus, producing the first translation of a Greek drama in 240 B. C., had come as a boy from Tarentum,⁴³ a war-captive. In later years, after he had been granted his freedom, he commanded the respect of others, not only for his poetic skill, but also for his great learning.⁴⁴ He, as was not unusual for Greek poets, was also an actor,⁴⁵ and may even have gathered and trained the troupe. Naevius, a Campanian,⁴⁶ who, as well as Plautus,⁴⁷ followed the example of Livius Andronicus, may possibly have felt the need of bringing some of his countrymen to Rome to act with him,⁴⁸ on account of the lack of Roman actors. Plautus mentions Roman actors only once,⁴⁹ without referring to their status in society, and giving no information about the type of men who generally appeared in his plays.

The first great actor who was not at the same time a poet, is Pellio, of whose work Plautus speaks disparagingly.⁵⁰ Symmachus⁵¹ puts him into the same category with Turpio, Roscius, and Aesopus. This meagre information is all that we have of Pellio, and in fact it is all there is for the Plautine and pre-Plautine periods, since Pellio stands alone.

In the passages quoted above, there is nothing to indicate that actors were despised merely because they were such or because they were slaves. Naevius came as a stranger to Rome, yet he had fought in the Roman army, and dared to attack the aristocracy, both of which facts point to citizenship. His disgrace, if such it may be called, he brought upon himself by his frank criticism of some nobles,

not through his being an actor. Andronicus rose to distinction, and that regardless of the fact that he had for a time lost his freedom. In 207 B. C., when he was no longer young, he was chosen to write the ode which twenty-seven maidens sang at the command of the pontifices.⁵² Thereafter the temple of Minerva on the Aventine, the center of the various guilds, was opened to the actors and poets.⁵³ This was done in honor of Livius, who had been both actor and playwright, and shows that there was no more prejudice against actors than against poets. Certainly this honor and privilege would not have been given the group if the members had at that time lacked civil rights as they did in Cicero's day. It would seem rather to indicate that the state, which had received the Greek dramas from the hands of a Greek poet, was encouraging the work of the poets who were scholars as well, and also their colleagues the actors, by giving them privileges accorded to other respected callings. The *scribae*, *poetae*, *librarii*, and *histriones* at Rome would then be enjoying the same rights and honors as did the *λογηγοι* of Alexandria, who had quarters assigned to them in the palace, and were organized with a president and a treasury.⁵⁴

We need not then be surprised if Valerius Maximus describes the poet Accius less than a century later as conscious of his superiority through scholarship,⁵⁵ and unwilling to rise whenever Julius Caesar Strabo visited the *collegium*. If this *collegium* in Accius' time still included actors, as one might expect, since there is no mention of a break between these two closely allied professions, then surely they must be classed among the respectable groups of society for more than a century.

In the time of Caecilius Statius⁵⁶ and Terence, Ambivius Turpio, a citizen, was the outstanding actor, who according to Donatus and the didascalía⁵⁷ performed in all the extant plays. It was he who insisted on playing the comedies of Caecilius until the people learned to like them and who saved the *Hecyra* at its third performance, after the crowd had twice quit the theatre for more exciting amusements.⁵⁸ In the didascalía his name is always linked with that of L. Atilius Praenestinus, whom Cicero⁵⁹ ignores in his praise of the former. Others of this period are L. Minucius Prothymus and Cincius Faliscus⁶⁰ and possibly the *ceteri actores* referred to by Symmachus.⁶¹ Of these, the names Praenestinus and Faliscus indicate that Roman troupes were partly recruited from the local players of nearby towns, actors who probably had had training in Atellan plays.

Between Terence and Cicero there is no one whose name has come down to us as an actor, good or bad. Even though none of the representatives are remembered, the art had developed and increased, preparing the way for Roscius and Aesopus, who stand out above all other Roman actors. Roscius, who was born at Lanuvium, of no mean family,⁶² had probably been encouraged in the art for which he early showed his talent.⁶³ Later, when he was moving the Roman audiences with his

finished performances, he enjoyed the admiration and friendship of prominent men; Cicero did not hesitate, as his friend and admirer, to defend him publicly against Fannius Chaerea, Sulla raised him to the knighthood,⁶⁴ and Q. Catulus expressed his admiration for him in an epigram.⁶⁵ Furthermore his sister was married to P. Quintius, a respectable man of means, well known as a client of Cicero⁶⁶. All of this evidence indicates that in Cicero's day men of excellent standing were found in the profession and were able to retain the respect of society while in the profession, if they confined themselves to the best plays.

Aesopus, who specialized in tragedies, seems to have moved in much the same circle. He likewise shared the friendship of Cicero,⁶⁷ who,⁶⁸ together with Quintilian,⁶⁹ compares the two actors as equally great in their respective fields. Both, furthermore, received great sums of money in payment for their work⁷⁰ and died wealthy.⁷¹ There is not the slightest reason for supposing that Aesopus was a freedman. He was probably a free citizen of some Greek city who like Archias had won Roman citizenship through his artistry.

In connection with Roscius and Aesopus there is at least a definite statement regarding the payment of actors. They were the masters of the day, and received the highest sums for their performances. Yet they did not limit themselves to acting alone, but like some of their colleagues trained others, and were well remunerated for that.⁷² There were more opportunities now for actors, as the number of state festival days had increased to about seventy, and the actors were being paid well. It was worthwhile to have a slave trained, because there was profit in his wages,⁷³ especially if he became the pupil of a renowned man.⁷⁴ If an actor could have several pupils, he had hopes of a reasonable income; Roscius, who had more⁷⁵ than Panurgus and Eros,⁷⁶ undoubtedly greatly increased his income in this way.

Such then is the steady line of development, which the actors' profession followed from the time of Livius Andronicus up to Aesopus and Roscius. At first, following the custom of the Greeks whose dramas they were using, the poets themselves, honored and respected, took part in their own dramas. Since they found few at Rome who had time or even inclination to assist them, they possibly called in Atellan players from neighboring towns, who had some experience. Finally, in the time of Cicero, the opportunities had increased to such an extent, that beside such men as Aesopus and Roscius who moved in the highest circles of society, talented slaves trained by rich men enjoyed successful and lucrative careers. No longer did the poet have to act in his own play or labor to get his troupe together. There were quite a few extremely capable men who earned great remunerations, and were at the same time admired by the best Romans.⁷⁷

This statement may seem not to accord with some information provided by Cicero⁷⁸ and Livy⁷⁹ to the effect that actors were then without civil and military

rights, and formed a class scorned by the general public. However, these statements supplement rather than contradict each other, since the former refers to the artist who acted in standard plays of recognized literary value while those of Livy and Cicero concern mimes and actors of a lower class.

The Lex Julia Municipalis of 45 B. C.⁸⁰ and the Lex Julia of 18 B. C.⁸¹ both contain clauses imposing restrictions upon those who participated in the *ars ludicra*; the former imposes a fine for actual practice, the latter forbids senators to marry into the family of any such actors. In the older law *ars ludicra* is treated just before *lenocinium*, as if the two were considered not very different, and the reference is apparently to actors who play in low class productions as well as to acrobats and the like. The explanation may be found in Quintilian,⁸² that actors had allowed the *imitationem transire in mores*, so that their profession had not only met with the disapproval of the higher classes, but had actually fallen under the ban of the law.

This seems all the more plausible since the mime, so popular in the empire, evoked the complaint of church fathers and other conservatives. The later law (the Lex Julia of 18 B. C.) forbids a senator to marry an actress, or any woman either one of whose parents was on the stage. Since women did not appear in the artistic drama at Rome, the law does not cast any reflection on the associates of Roscius or his successors. It concerns rather the mime players among whom many women were numbered in the empire.

It was by compelling Laberius to act in a mime that Caesar in 45 B. C. temporarily degraded that playwright.⁸³ In being forced to act in a mime which he himself had composed, Laberius was disgraced by contact with mime players and forfeited his equestrian rights. If the equestrian order was disgraced as is definitely stated, and the senators were forbidden to marry into such families, then probably Livy's statement that actors would lose their rights, applies also to the same class, and not to such men as Roscius who presented dramas of literary value. This certainly is the case later in the empire where it is clear that the Romans objected to the looseness of pantomime actors.⁸⁴ This feeling apparently arose long after the earliest period of development, and only after the cheaper plays became popular, when actors became numerous and when many slaves were being placed in the profession, but it did not apply to actors of the legitimate stage. We have therefore no right to assume that in the early period of the Roman stage there was an abundance of cheap slave actors available as there was for the variety stage of the late republic and early empire.

From this review of the profession it would appear that Plautus probably had no supply of slave actors to draw upon. And if he had to rely on such few persons as were willing to act only a few days each year we may be sure that the available number of good actors at Rome was very limited, particularly because

the profession was still comparatively young, offering no honors for mere participation in the festivals and no opportunities for financial gain.

Not only would this prevailing scarcity of actors in general be a considerable factor in constraining Plautus to adjust his plays to a limited troupe, but also the fact that he was following Greek plays already arranged for small companies. If the economic conditions at Rome were such that only a small company was allowed him, then he would naturally take advantage of the devices in the original that wrought for economy. If there were no such limitations upon him, one would nevertheless expect that he would avoid drastic changes that would add needless expense and difficulties in staging.

The plays themselves contain evidence that Plautus did not write the rôles for separate actors but rather with a view to having several rôles dovetail in such a way that they could be carried by a single actor. Frequently there are unmotivated or not well motivated early exits and late entrances which can be explained best as a convenience for actors having to play more than one rôle. There are, furthermore, short narratives of rather important action that one would expect to see given on the stage, if it were not for a scarcity of actors, and moreover, other scenes are omitted outright without any such account. Occasionally too, characters are peculiarly silent in scenes where many actors are required, where the two characters played by one man must be on the stage at the same time.

In the following study an attempt will be made to show that the unmotivated early exits or late arrivals, since they are combined with monologues or dialogues that do not advance the action of the play, are frequently a device for giving the departing or entering actor time to change his garb, and appear in more than one rôle; furthermore, that these hints, together with those given when a scene is reported rather than acted, are rather reliable evidence for determining the least number of actors needed to produce the several plays, and the rôles that are to be assigned to the various members of the troupe. Thereafter, with the grouping ascertained, it will be shown that the mutes, and the omission of expected scenes, follow as the result of a very economical grouping and limitation of actors.

Notes.

¹ Aristotle, *Poetics* 1449 a, 11—14.

² K. Rees, *The Three-Actor Rule in Menander*, *Class. Phil.*, V, 1910, p. 293.

³ F. Keusen, *De Histrionum numero fabulae Menandreae*. Bonn, Diss., 1920, p. 33.

⁴ F. Schmidt, *Über die Zahl der Schauspieler bei Plautus und Terenz*, Erlangen, 1870.

⁵ Daremberg-Saglio, *Histrionum*.

⁶ Festus, p. 217, *personata fabula*: Personata fabula quaedam Naevi inscribitur, quam putant quidam primum a personatis histrionibus. Sed cum post multos annos comoedi et tragoedi personis uti coeperint verisimilius est, eam fabulam propter inopiam comoedorum

actam novam per Atellanos, qui proprie vocantur personati, quia ius est is non cogi in scena ponere personam quod ceteris histrionibus pati necesse est.

⁷ Donatus, *de Comoedia* VI, 3: Personati primi egisse dicuntur comoediam Cincius Faliscus, tragoediam Minucius Prothymus.

⁸ Cicero, *de Orat.* III, 59, 221: sed in ore sunt omnia. In eo autem ipso dominatus est omnis oculorum; quo melius nostri illi senes, qui personatum ne Roscium quidem magno opere laudabant. Animi est enim omnis actio et imago animi vultus est, indices oculi.

⁹ Quintilian XI, 3, 74.

¹⁰ Not even so great an actor as Aesopus was above censure, if he did not please in every respect. Cicero, *de Orat.* I, 61, 258: Voluisti enim in suo genere unum quemque nostrum quasi quendam esse Roscium; dixisti non tam ea, quae recta essent, probari quam quae prava sunt, fastidiis adhaerescere; quod ego non tam fastidiose in nobis, quam in histrionibus spectari puto. 259: Itaque nos raucos saepe attentissime audiri video; tenet enim res ipsa atque causa: at Aesopum, si paullum irrauserit, explodi.

¹¹ Plautus himself gives evidence of the color of the wigs, so in *Asinaria*, 934 he describes the *senex* as *cano capite*, while Leonida the slave is *rufulus*, (*Asinaria*, 400) and Philocrates (*Captivi*, 648), appearing as a slave is *subrufus aliquantum*.

¹² Terence, *Andria*, 15 ff.:

id isti vituperant factum atque in eo disputant
contaminari non decere fabulas.
faciuntne intellegendo ut nil intellegant?
qui quom hunc accusant Naevium, Plautum, Ennium
accusant quos hic noster auctores habet
quorum aemulari exoptat neglegentiam.

cf. *Adelphoe*, 6 ff.

¹³ Terence, *Heautontimoroumenos*, 16 ff.:

nam quod rumores distulerunt malevoli
multas contaminasse Graecas, dum facit
paucas Latinas: factum id esse hic non negat
neque se pigere et deinde facturum autumat.
habet bonorum exemplum quo exemplo sibi
licere facere quod illi fecerunt putat.

¹⁴ *Casina*, prol. 64:

Is (Euthynicus), ne expectetis, hodie in hac comoedia
in urbem non redibit: Plautus noluit,
pontem interruptit, qui erat ei in itinere.

¹⁵ R. C. Flickinger, *Greek Theatre and its Drama*, Chicago, 1926, p. 184.

¹⁶ Livy, XXII, 10, 7: Eiusdem rei causa ludi magni voti aeris trecentis triginta tribus milibus, trecentis triginta tribus triente, praeterea bubus Jovi trecentis, multis aliis divis bubus albis atque ceteris hostiis.

¹⁷ J. E. Sandys, *Companion to Latin Studies*, Cambridge, 1921, p. 506.

¹⁸ Daremberg-Saglio, *Ludi*. Habel, *Ludi publici*, Pauly, Wiss. Supp. V, 1931.

¹⁹ Terence, *Hecyra*, 57: *pretio emptas meo* and Donatus commentary: aestimatione a me facta, quantum aediles darent, et proinde me periclitante, si rejecta fabula, a me ipso aediles quod numeraverint repetant.

²⁰ Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 189: ne quarta loqui persona laboret.

²¹ Evanthius, II, 2: sed primo una persona est subducta cantatoribus, quae respondens

alternis id est choro locupletavit variavitque rem musicam: tum altera, tum tertia, et ad postremum crescente numero per auctores diversos personae, pallae, cothurni, socci, et ceteri ornatus atque insignia scaenicorum reperta et ad hoc unicuique suus habitus: et ad ultimum, qui primarum partium, qui secundarum tertiarumque (qui) quarti loci atque quinti actores essent, distributum et divisa quinquepartito actu est tota fabula. Keusen p. 9 and G. Burckhardt, *Die Akteinteilungen in der neuen Griechischen und in der Römischen Komödie*, Diss., Basel, 1927, p. 33 interpret *actu* as acts or action, as five parts of the play. This makes an abrupt change of subject. It would be more in keeping with the rest of the passage if *actu* might mean the burden of the action or performance of the whole play, as divided among five actors.

²² Diomedes, *G. L. K.* I, p. 490: In Graeco dramate fere tres personae agunt ideoque Horatius ait: *ne quarta loqui persona laboret* quia quarta semper muta. At Latini scriptores complures personas in fabulas introduxerunt, ut speciosiores frequentia facerent.

²³ Livy, II, 36: Ludi forte ex instauratione magni Romae parabantur. Instaurandi haec causa fuerat: ludis mane servum quidam pater familiae nondum commisso spectaculo sub furca caesum medio egerat circo. Coepti inde ludi, velut ea res nihil ad religionem pertinuisset. Haud ita multo post T. Latinio, de plebe homini, somnium fuit: visus Juppiter dicere sibi ludis praesultatorem displicuisse; nisi magnifice instaurarentur ii ludi, periculum urbi fore; iret, ea consulibus nuntiaret.

Cicero, *de Harusp. resp.* XI, 23, shows the same fear that anything should not be done properly in the games as well as in the ceremonies. All things should be *rite facti*: si ludius constitit, aut tibicen repente conticuit, aut puer si tensam non tenuit aut lorum omisit, aut si aediles verbo aut simpuvio aberravit.

²⁴ A. E. Haigh, *The Attic Theatre*, Oxford, 1898, 2nd. Ed., p. 315.

²⁵ *Amphitruo*, 65 f.: sive qui ambissent palmam (his) histrionibus.

²⁶ Cicero, *ad Atticum*, IV, 15, 6: ne diutius pendeas, palmam tulit.

²⁷ Horace, *Epist.* II, 1, 181: valeat res ludicra, si me palma negata macrum, donata reducit opimum.

²⁸ *Hecyra*, 57:

mea causa causam accipite et date silentium
ut lubeat scribere aliis mihi que ut discere
novas expediat posthac pretio emptas meo.

²⁹ Livy, XXIV, 43, 7, Ludos scaenicos per quadriduum eo anno primum factos ab curulibus aedilibus memoriae proditur.

³⁰ *Stichus*, Didascalía: acta ludis plebeis Cn. Baebio C. Terentio aed. pl.

³¹ Livy, XXV, 12, 15, populus coronatus spectavit, matronae supplicavere; vulgo apertis januis in propatulis epulati sunt, celeberrime dies omni caerimoniarum genere fuit.

³² Livy, XXVII, 23, 7, Ipse primus ita vovit, fecitque ante diem tertium nonas Quintiles. That Livy meant *idus* instead of *nonas* see Weißenborn, note on this passage, 3d Ed., 1878.

³³ Livy, XXXVII, 4, 4.

³⁴ Cicero, *Brutus*, XX, 78.

³⁵ Livy, XXXIV, 54, 3.

³⁶ *Pseudolus*, Didascalía: M. Junio M. fil. pr. urb. ac(ta) M(egalesiis).

³⁷ The didascalía for *Andria*, 166 B. C., *Heautontimoroumenos*, 163 B. C., *Eunuchus*,

161 B. C. give: acta ludis Megalensibus.

³⁸ Juvenal, XIV, 263, and Tacitus *Hist.* II, 55, give the first references.

³⁹ F. Ritschl, *Parergon*, Berlin, 1845, p. 287.

⁴⁰ Sandys, *Companion to Latin Studies*, p. 504 ff.

⁴¹ Dionysius, VII, 71.

⁴² Cicero, *pro Rosc. Com.*, X, 27—29.

⁴³ Schanz-Hosius, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*, Teil I, München, 1927, 4. Ausg., p. 45.

⁴⁴ Hieronymus, p. 137, H.: Titus Livius tragoediarum scriptor clarus habetur, qui ab ingenii meritum a Livio Salinatore cuius liberos erudiebat, libertate donatus est.

⁴⁵ Livy, VII, 2 and Evanthius, *de Com.* IV, 3: Latinae fabulae primo a Livio Andronico scriptae sunt, adeo cuncta re etiam tam recenti, ut idem poeta et actor suarum fabularum fuisset.

⁴⁶ Gellius *Noct. Att.* I, 24, 2.

⁴⁷ Cicero, *de Orat.* III, 12, 45.

⁴⁸ Festus, p. 217, *personata fabula*. See above, note 5.

⁴⁹ *Curculio*, I, 2, 150: ludi barbari.

⁵⁰ *Bacchides*, II, 2, 215:

Etiam Epidicum, quam ego fabulam aequae ac me ipsum amo
nullam aequae invitum specto, si agit Pellio.

⁵¹ Symmachus, X, 2, Seeck, p. 277.

⁵² Livy, XXVII, 37, 7.

⁵³ Festus, p. 333, *scribas proprio nomine antiqui et librarios et poetas vocabant...*

Itaque cum Livius Andronicus bello Punico secundo scribisset carmen, quod a virginibus est cantatum quia prosperius respublica populi Romani geri coepta est, publice adtributa est et in Aventino aedes Minervae, in qua liceret scribis, histrionibus consistere ac dona ponere, in honorem Livi, quia his et scribebat fabulas et agebat.

⁵⁴ Strabo, 17, 794: Τῶν δὲ βασιλείων μέρος ἔστι καὶ τὸ Μουσεῖον, ἔχον περίπατον καὶ ἐξεῖδρα καὶ οἶκον μέγαν ἐν ᾧ τὸ συσσίτιον τῶν μετέχοντων τοῦ Μουσείου φιλολόγων ἀνδρῶν. ἔστι δὲ τῇ συνόδῳ ταύτῃ καὶ χρήματα κοινὰ καὶ ἱερεὺς ὁ ἐπὶ τῷ Μουσείῳ τεταγμένος τότε μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων νῦν δ' ὑπὸ Καίσαρος.

⁵⁵ Valerius Maximus, III, VII, 11: magno spatio divisus est a senatu ad poetam Accium transitus. Ceterum ut ab eo decentius ad externa transeamus, producat in medium. Is Julio Caesari amplissimo ac florentissimo viro in collegium poetarum venienti numquam adsurrexit, non majestatis eius immemor, sed quod in comparatione communium studiorum aliquanto se superiorem esse confideret.

⁵⁶ *Hecyra*, 14 f.:

in is quas primum Caecili dedici novas
partim sum earum exactu', partim vix steti.

⁵⁷ Donatus, *Andria*, praef. I, 6, Didascalia to *Heautontimoroumenos*, *Eunuchus*, *Phormio*, *Hecyra*, and *Adelphoe*.

⁵⁸ *Hecyra*, Didascalia, I: Tertio relata est Q. Fulvio Luc. Marcio aedilibus curulibus. Egit. Luc. Sergius Turpio; placuit; and *Hecyra*, prol. II, 29 ff.

⁵⁹ Cicero, *de Senectute*, XIV, 48.

⁶⁰ Donatus, *Adelphoe*, praef. I, 6: haec sane acta est ludis scaenicis funebribus L. Aemilii Pauli agentibus L. Ambivio et L. (Minucio Prothymo) qui cum suis gregibus etiam tum personati agebant; and Donatus, *de com.* Reifferscheid, p. 10: personati primi egisse dicuntur comoediam Cincius Faliscus, tragoediam Minucius Prothymus.

⁶¹ Symmachus, X, 2, Seeck, p. 277: Roscio tamen Ambivio ceterisque actoribus fama non defuit.

⁶² Cicero, *de div.* I, 79: Quid? Amores et deliciae tuae, Roscius, num aut ipse aut pro eo Lanuvium totum mentiebatur? qui cum esset in cunabulis educareturque in Solonio, qui est campus agri Lanuvini, noctu lumine adpositio experrecta *nutrix* animadvertit puerum dormientem circumplicatum serpentis amplexu. Quo adpectu exterrita clamorem sustulit. Pater autem Roscii ad haruspices rettulit, qui responderunt nihil illo puero clarius, nihil nobilius fore. Atque hanc speciem Pasiteles caelavit argento et noster expressit Archias versibus.

No slave family would have a *nutrix* for the children, nor would Cicero be likely to write: *nihil illo puero clarius, nihil nobilius fore*, without comment, had his parents been of a very low class.

⁶³ Cicero's story probably is another one of those exaggerations of the unusual so frequently spun into biography of great men.

⁶⁴ Macrobius, III, XIV, 13: Is est Roscius qui etiam L. Sullae carissimus fuit, et anulo aureo ab eodem dictatore donatus est.

⁶⁵ Cicero, *de Nat. deorum*, I, XXVIII, 79.

⁶⁶ Cicero, *Pro Quinct.*, XXIV, 77: Dicebam huic Q. Roscio, cuius soror est cum P. Quinctio cum a me peteret et summe contenderet etc.

⁶⁷ Macrobius, III, XIV, 11: Ceterum histriones non inter turpes habitos Cicero testimonio est, quem nullus ignorat Roscio et Aesopo histrionibus tam familiariter usum ut res rationesque eorum sua sollertia tueretur, quod cum aliis multis tum ex epistulis quoque eius declaratur.

⁶⁸ Cicero, *de Orat.* III, 26.

⁶⁹ Quintilian, XI, 3, 111: Roscius citatior, Aesopus gravior fuit, quod ille comoedias, hic tragoedias egit.

⁷⁰ Cicero, *Pro Rosc. Com.*, VIII, 23: Decem his annis proximis HS sexagies honestissime consequi potuit; noluit.

⁷¹ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, IX, 59, 122: Prior id fecerat Romae in unionibus magnae taxationis Clodius tragoedi Aesopi filius relictus ab eo in amplis opibus heres, ne triumviratu nimis superbiat Antonius.

⁷² Cicero, *Pro Rosc. Com.*, X, 30: Si veniret ab Statilio, tametsi artificio Roscium superaret, adspicere nemo posset... quia veniebat a Roscio, plus etiam scire quam sciebat videbatur.

⁷³ Panurgus belonged to Chaerea, was to be trained by Roscius, the profits to be shared by both. See Cicero, *Pro Rosc. Com.*, X, 27 ff.

⁷⁴ Cicero, *Pro Rosc. Com.*, X, 30.

⁷⁵ Cicero, *de Orat.*, I, 129.

⁷⁶ Cicero, *Pro Rosc. Com.*, X, 30.

⁷⁷ Cicero, *Orator*, XXXI, 109: Histriones eos vidimus, quibus nihil posset in suo genere esse praestantius, qui non solum in dissimillimis personis satisfaciebant, cum tamen in suis versarentur, sed et comoedum in tragoediis, et tragoedum in comoediis admodum placere vidimus.

⁷⁸ Cicero, *de Re Pub.*, IV, 10: cum artem ludicram scaenamque totam in probro ducerent, genus id hominum non modo honore civium reliquorum carere, sed etiam tribu moveri notatione censoria voluerunt (Romani).

⁷⁹ Livy, VII, 2: movetur tribu, et a militaribus stipendiis repellitur.

⁸⁰ *Lex Julia Municipalis*, 123 (Bruns) quive corpore quaestum fecit fecerit, quive lanistaturam artemve ludicram fecit, fecerit, quive lenocinium faciet, quive adversus ea in municipio colonia praefectura foro conciliabulo (in senatu) decurionibus conscripteisve fuerit sententiamve dixerit, is HS. 1000: p(opulo) d(are) d(amnas) e(sto) eiusve pecuniae quei volet petitio esto.

⁸¹ *Lex Julia*, 18 B. C.: qui senator est, quive filius, neposve ex filio, proneposve ex (nepote) filio nato, cuius eorum est erit, ne quis eorum sponsam uxoremve sciens dolo habeto libertinam aut eam, quae ipsa cuiusve pater materve artem ludicram facit, fecerit.

⁸² Quintilian, I, XI, 2: nec vitia ebrietatis effingat nec servili vernilitate imbuatur nec amoris, avaritiae, metus discat affectum; quae neque oratori sunt necessaria et mentem praecipue in aetate prima teneram adhuc et rudem, inficiunt. Nam frequens imitatio transit in mores. Ne gestus quidem omnis ac motus a comoedis petendus est.

⁸³ Macrobius, *Sat.* II, 3, 10: Deinde cum Laberius in fine ludorum anulo aureo honoratus a Caesare e vestigio in quattuordecim ad spectandum transiit violato ordine et cum detrectatus est eques Romanus et comminus remissus, ait Cicero praetereunti Laberio etc. . . . cf. id. II, 7, 1.

⁸⁴ Tacitus, *Ann.* I, 77: valuit tamen intercessio quia divus Augustus immunes verberum histriones quondam responderat, neque fas Tiberio infringere dicta eius. De modo lucaris et adversus lasciviam fautorum multa decernuntur; ex quis maxime insignia, ne domos pantomimorum senator introiret, ne egredientes in publicum equites Romani cingerent aut alibi quam in theatro spectarentur, et spectantium immodestiam exilio multandi potestas praetoribus fieret.

I. The Unmotivated early Exits and late Entrances.

In the preceding chapter we have shown that there was a limited supply of actors at the disposal of Plautus, and that we may therefore expect to find one actor playing more than one rôle. As late as 1927, the newest edition of Schanz' *History of Roman Literature* makes the statement that the Roman producer was limited in no way, and could arrange to have each important rôle taken by a special actor.¹ The evidence of the plays does not however support this statement, but confirms rather the conclusions of the preceding chapter.

In the *Amphitruo* (III, 4, vs. 998), Mercury has stated his intention of deceiving Amphitruo, and continues:

*iam hic deludetur, spectatores, vobis inspectantibus.
capiam coronam mi in caput, adsimulabo me esse ebrium;
atque illuc susum escendero: inde optume aspellam virum
de supero, quom huc accesserit; jaciam ut sit madidus sobrius.*

at vs. 1005 he announces the approach of Amphitruo:

sed eccum Amphitruonem, advenit

and at vs. 1007 he finally leaves the stage:

*ibo intro, ornatum capiam qui potis decet;
dein susum ascendam in tectum ut illum hinc prohibeam.*

Amphitruo has now arrived and opens the new act (IV, 1, vs. 1009) with a well padded comic monologue, which merely informs the spectators that he has not been able to find Naucrates, in quest of whom he left the stage at II, 2, vs. 854. At the end of his monologue (vs. 1020) Amphitruo goes to his door, knocks, and demands admission. While he is thus engaged, Mercury-Sosia feigning intoxication and wearing a wreath, appears above, asking (vs. 1021):

quis ad fores est?

It is evident that the monologue of twelve verses has been put in to allow time for Mercury-Sosia to assume the make-up of an intoxicated slave, and to climb up to the roof. Yet the importance of this monologue as a technical device does not occur to the spectators who are indeed well entertained.

This passage is unique in plainly demonstrating that the monologue of one character is inserted primarily to divert the attention of the audience while another is off stage changing something about his dress and make-up. In other ways it is not unique, but is a type, which Plautus frequently employs at the end of a

scene, when one character makes an early exit, and does not reappear for some time. In such instances the person departing early leaves in anger or disgust; he may hurry off alone, or accompanied by another; he may have some weak and indefinite pretext such as going to the forum, into the house, or to a friend's house; he may even be sent off or be driven away by one of the remaining persons. This early exit is sometimes followed by a dialogue, but more frequently by a monologue of the character remaining on the stage. Neither monologue nor dialogue, however, carries the action of the plot forward very much, if at all; usually the passage has highly comic content which serves to concentrate the spectator's attention on the speaker. The comic passage is followed by a short transition to the next scene, in which a new character appears. Most frequently the monologuist is expressing his own fear, disgust, anger, or confusion, or is confiding to the public his most intimate feelings. Usually he makes the transition to the following scene by very abruptly directing the spectators' attention to the appearance of the new character in the street or at the door of a house. The departure of one character, followed by a padded monologue or dialogue, is the exact parallel of the passage in the *Amphitruo* where Mercury-Sosia goes off for changes in make-up. It therefore seems reasonable to assume a parallel purpose in that one actor playing the departing character must be given time to change his dress and appear as another character after the monologue or dialogue. This device, found frequently in Plautine plays, is extremely important and reliable for determining the rôles which are to be sustained by one actor. But, contrary to expectation, the monologues and dialogues are of such varying length, irrespective of the types of characters involved, that no average of the number of spoken lines required for the exchange of costumes can be taken. A survey of the various instances discloses in the *Amphitruo* that sixteen verses are allowed to effect the slight change necessary between the true and pseudo-Sosia,² while only eight are given when the actor in the *Mercator*³ must appear as Lysimachus *senex* (off II, 2, vs. 327) and as Charinus *adulescens* (on II, 3, vs. 335). There are sixty verses spoken during the absence of the man personating both Leaena, *anus* (off I, 3, vs. 158) and Cappadox *leno* (on II, 1, vs. 218) in the *Curculio*,⁴ while fourteen and a vacant stage intervene between the departure of Collybiscus *villicus* (III, 6, vs. 805) and appearance of Syncerastus *servus* (IV, 2, vs. 823) in the *Poenulus*.⁵ It is obvious therefore that there is no average length for the intervals regardless of the types of characters involved in the changes. A review of the combinations grouped according to the types of characters involved, shows almost as little uniformity as the general consideration. Peculiarly enough, there are no early exits indicating a shift from one *senex* to another, or from one *adulescens* to a second.⁶ The closest to a doubling of two *senes'* rôles is in the *Bacchides*⁷ where Nicobulus *senex* (off II, 3, vs. 348) can be assigned

to the actor for Lydus *paedagogus* (on III, 1, vs. 368),⁸ because of the interval of nineteen lines. A study of the instances where two female rôles are combined, regardless of age or station in life, reveals quite a discrepancy in time allowed; thus in the seven instances there are allowed fifteen, eight, sixteen, thirty-four, and seven verses, all followed by vacant stage, and twenty-nine and nineteen verses. When the change involves an *adulescens* and *senex* there is similar lack of uniformity: intervals of twenty-four, eight, eleven, six, and twelve verses plus vacant stage are found. It is only the grouping of *servus* with some female part that shows anything like uniformity in the number of spoken verses of the interval, thus: fourteen, twenty, twenty-two, twenty-one, twenty-five, and twenty-two plus vacant stage. Since this is merely the exception, not the rule, we must conclude that Plautus did not intend to allow a definite number of spoken lines as indicative of the combination of rôles.⁹

The question arises whether six, seven, or eight spoken verses are sufficient for a change of costume. There are seven cases where there are eight or less verses; six are followed by a vacant stage, in the seventh the entering person is announced as approaching down the street. If then time was needed beyond the recitation of the six verses and the accompanying actions, there could be a slight pause if necessary. However the costumes were so simple that little time was required to adjust them. To compare with this we have evidence from Elizabethan times that actors of that day were expected to make lightning changes in eight to ten verses.¹⁰ One need not then have objections to the small number of spoken lines in Plautine plays between the exit and re-entry of the actor changing costumes.

Whatever the time necessary for changes of costume the most interesting observation made during the following study is that actors of Plautus' day, like the hired men of Elizabethan companies,¹¹ did not expect to play only one rôle, or even only one type of rôle, a situation which does not appear to have been absolutely strange to classical Greek drama.¹² If then the Greek and English actors were prepared to interpret more than one character in a play, there should be no objection to assigning several parts of Plautine plays to one actor,¹³ especially since the characters are types rather than individuals.

Unfortunately in Latin literature there is no statement adding to our knowledge of the tendencies of this period. By the time of Cicero, when actors had become more numerous and as professionals could make greater demands, as well as acquiesce to those of the public, they could choose the rôles best suited to them,¹⁴ and could star¹⁵ in them as do actors of the modern stage. Careers were thus open to them, though we can imagine that they served their apprenticeship, not in playing solo rôles, but in taking several minor parts if necessary. Quintilian¹⁶ states that although actors in the first century A. D. still continued this practise of choosing rôles suitable to their character, they were not limited to male or female

rôles. Considering all this external evidence, and that which is found in the plays of Plautus themselves, it seems logical to believe that in that early day when neither actor nor spectator could make great demands, the rôles were doubled with regard to economy, regardless of type, and that one need not therefore be surprised to find the device of the early unmotivated exit involving rôles of widely different character. Since this is the case, we may proceed to study the exits according to the manner in which the departing actor is removed from the stage.

There are just a few cases where the character becomes silent and disappears without a word explaining whither or why he is going. One example is found in the *Curculio* I, 3. Leaena has gone into the house (in I, 2) to get Planesium, leaving Phaedromus and Palinurus outside waiting. In I, 3, vs. 158 she brings out Planesium, saying, as she opens the door:

*Placide egredere et sonitum prohibe forium et crepitum cardinum
ne quae hic agimus eru' percipiat fieri, mea Planesium.
mane, suffundam aquolam.*

This is her last speech; she silently disappears and no mention is made of her departure. The following love scene between Phaedromus and Planesium, in which Palinurus, the former's slave, tantalizes the lovers, abounds in the comic but has nothing to do with Curculio's plot to secure the money for buying the girl. At the beginning of the next scene, Cappadox whose rôle conflicts with every other one, except that of Leaena, makes his first appearance (II, 1, vs. 218). Here then the early exit of the *anus*, which has no other apparent purpose in the plot, is a definite hint that the two rôles are to be played by the same actor. The sixty verses allowed the actor here, comprise the longest time for any of these rôle changes.

Similarly in the *Mostellaria* I, 3, Scapha has had the long scene with Philematium, advising her about her attire and her preparations to receive Philolaches. The latter has been watching the whole procedure unobserved by the women, and does not greet them before vs. 292, when Scapha has just finished her speech (vss. 284—292):

eloquar:

*Philolachem, is ne quid emat, nisi quod tibi placere censeat.
Nam amator meretricis mores sibi emit auro et purpura.
quid opust, quod suum esse nolit, ei ultro ostentariet?
purpura aetati occultanda est, aurum turpi mulieri.
pulchra mulier nuda erit quam purpurata pulchrior:
poste nequiquam exornata est bene, si morata est male.
pulchrum ornatum turpes mores peius caeno continunt.
nam si pulchra est nimis ornata est.*

Scapha has been taking an active part in the dialogue with Philematium, but now upon Philolaches' approach, she suddenly becomes silent. Nowhere does she or

anyone else give a hint of her departure, but she departs, for she is present neither in the following scene when Callidamates and Delphium join the other two lovers, nor does she appear again later. While Philolaches and Philematium are talking (I, 2, vss. 292—312) and finishing out the scene, Scapha has slipped away unnoticed, so that the actor can have time (twenty-one verses) to change his costume and re-enter as Callidamates appearing for the first time at the opening of the new scene (1, 3, vs. 313).

A third case of the unannounced departure within the scene is that of the *puer* in *Pseudolus* III, 2, vs. 892. The *puer* has taken up all of III, 1, with a considerable monologue, and has remained on the stage while Ballio and a cook exchange a series of none too complimentary epithets. Finally the *puer* who has tired, speaks up in vs. 891:

quin tu is accubitus et convivas cedo corrumpitur iam cena.

Ballio (vs. 892) sends the cook in to attend to his dinner, and now, turning to the audience, he scolds at the absent *puer* and then turns to go into the house to warn the other members of his household against Pseudolus. There is no mention of the *puer*, after he has spoken in vs. 891, yet the tone of Ballio's monologue clearly indicates the absence of all others from the stage. Ballio's lines thus become a transition to the arrival of Pseudolus (IV, 1, vs. 905). The latter subsequently delivers a verbose transitional monologue (vss. 905—912), while seeking his fellow conspirator Simia, whose arrival is late (vs. 910). The transition is complete, the two monologues have consumed time, and the actor who left early while playing the *puer*, has had time to dress and comes in late as Simia.

Another instance of the departure of a character without any announcement or comment by the others is found in the *Epidicus* IV, 2. Periphanes hoping to have discovered his daughter Telestis, brings the girl to meet her mother, but Philippa soon convinces him of his error whereupon the girl confesses that Epidicus had instructed her what to do (vs. 592):

Epidicus mihi fuit magister.

Periphanes forbids her ever to call him father again (vs. 593—594):

si hercle te umquam audivero

me patrem vocare, vitam tuam ego interimam.

and Acropolistis replies (vs. 594—595):

non voco,

ubi voles pater esse ibi esto, ubi noles ne fueris pater.

In these last words she does not allude to her departure which Philippa and Periphanes also seem to ignore in their subsequent discussion of the girl and Periphanes' acceptance of Epidicus' false statement that she was the right girl (vss. 596—600). Then Periphanes advises the weeping Philippa to go into the house (vs. 601):

*ne fle, mulier, intro abi, habe animum bonum;
ego illam reperiam.*

After a few more words between them, Philippa goes into the house while Periphanes threatens to annihilate Epidicus (vss. 602—606).

The scene ends, and Acropolistis has also departed, not to appear again in the play. She has probably slipped away immediately after vs. 596, eleven verses before the end of the scene, while the audience was centering its attention on the discussion of Philippa and Periphanes. In the meantime the actor has been behind the scenes preparing to come out another character. Looking forward to the next scene, one finds that the *Danista* and Telestis enter at vs. 621, just fifteen verses after the opening of the new scene, and twenty-six verses after Acropolistis' departure. Both are one-scene rôles so that either could be assigned to the actor playing Acropolistis, but since it is the *Danista* who first speaks up, and upon whom the attention of the audience is first centered, it seems reasonable to believe that the same actor played Acropolistis and the *Danista*. Philippa¹⁷ and Telestis are played by a second who exchanges costumes while first Philippa and Periphanes, then Stratippocles and Epidicus are entertaining the audience with conversation that is not greatly advancing the plot, but is rather preparing for what is to follow.

Another illustration of the silent disappearance of a person is in the *Truculentus* II, 6. While Phronesium and Astaphium have been on the stage from the beginning of the scene (vs. 482), the soldier Stratophanes has soliloquized totally unaware of their presence (vss. 482—498). He first notices Astaphium, who leads him to Phronesium and subsequently becomes silent. Her last words are in vs. 514:

adsum, adduco tibi (meaning Phronesium) *exoptatum Stratophanem.*

There is no more trace of her until III, 1, vs. 664, and it is most likely that she disappears at this very convenient point; certainly she leaves during the scene, and this would be the best place. Thus Phronesium and the soldier are left alone, they quarrel because the *meretrix* makes unreasonable demands, and by the end of the scene (vs. 550) the soldier has had an opportunity to show his anger (vss. 543—550), and incidentally to add a humorous touch to the rather long scene. The sudden silence and uncertain disappearance of Astaphium explain themselves upon the appearance of Cyamus (II, 7, vs. 551) a new character, who plays only in this one scene. Astaphium is off the stage during the complete scenes II, 7 and 8, leaves early (thirty-six verses) in II, 6, and arrives late (twenty verses) in II, 9, which seems to prove that the one-scene rôle of Cyamus was intended to be taken by the actor playing Astaphium.

Occasionally we find that the person is going off, but not stating what he intends to do, or where he is going — one merely feels from the last words of

the speaker, that he is leaving. In *Captivi* I, 2, vs. 191, Ergasilus departs without any statement as to his destination or plans after his friendly argument with Hegio about the parasite's search for a good meal. Ergasilus breaks off rather suddenly (vss. 190—191):

curato aegrotos domi

numquid vis?

in answer to which Hegio gives the desired invitation (vs. 191): *venias temperi*. Ergasilus reminds him that it is unnecessary to expect anything else (vs. 191): *memorem mones*, disappears hereafter and does not re-enter until III, 1. Because of the silent and unmotivated early disappearance of Ergasilus, and the entrance of the *Lorarii* and the captives in the next scene, a doubling of rôles is to be expected. The *Lorarii* have been on the stage with Ergasilus in I, 2, so the choice is between Tyndarus and Philocrates. At this point either combination is possible, but later the early exits of Tyndarus (II, 3, nine verses and III, 5, seventeen verses) are decisive: Ergasilus and Tyndarus are presented by one actor.

Another early exit without any definite pretext is found in the *Menaechmi* III, 3. The *Ancilla* has been sent out by Erotium to have Menaechmus (in this case Menaechmus II) take her bracelet to be repaired (vs. 525 ff.). The *Ancilla* asks Menaechmus to give her a pair of ear-rings, which he refuses. Upon her question (vs. 548): *numquid (me) vis?* he replies (vss. 548—549):

haec me curaturum dicito

ut quantum possint quique liceant veneant.

and then (vs. 550):

iamne introabiit? abiit, operuit fores.

Certain of being alone, he gives vent to his despair at falling into the hands of the unknown women (monologue vss. 551—558), and his desire to get away from them. While speaking thus, he casts his wreath to the left, and leaves to the right, hoping thus to deceive his pursuers. As a matter of fact the *Matrona* and *Peniculus* do find the wreath, and would have followed the false clue (IV, 1, vs. 566) if the other Menaechmus had not returned just at that moment. The monologue of Menaechmus II at the end of III, 3, is of no great importance to plot development. The *Ancilla* has left by vs. 550 without any pretext, for certainly the message of Menaechmus (vs. 548): *haec me curaturum dicito* is not the purpose of her leaving. One is therefore not astonished to find the early exit indicating a change of rôle: ten verses later in the following scene (IV, 1, vs. 559), the *Matrona* comes on with *Peniculus*, who out of revenge has already told her of Menaechmus' conduct. The stage has been left vacant at the departure of Menaechmus II, and there need be no pause here after the actor playing both the *Ancilla* and the *Matrona* has completed the change of costume.

The same device for concealing the shortage of actors from the ordinary spectator is employed in *Mostellaria* II, 1, when Philolaches leaves twenty-three verses before the scene ends. The feast has been broken up by the announcement of the unexpected arrival of Theopropides (vs. 383), and Tranio has thought of the plan to make the house as quiet as though it were unoccupied. At vs. 404 Tranio commands:

*clavem mi harunc aedium Laconicam
iam iube efferri intus: hasce ego aedis occludam hinc foris.*

Philolaches replies (vs. 406):

in tuam custodelam meque et meas spes trado, Tranio.

Without delay he goes into the house, as is clear from the following monologue of Tranio (vss. 407—430). This monologue is at first only musing over Philolaches' weakness and his own ability to form plans and act quickly. He is aroused by the *puer*, (vss. 420—422) and steps aside to watch the approach of Theopropides, until the latter speaks at vs. 431. Here again the unmotivated early exit of Philolaches, and the rather entertaining monologue of Tranio, with the comic interruption of the *puer*, supposedly sent out by the latter to entreat the slave once more to keep his father away, indicate that the actor of Philolaches (off vs. 407) has in this interval been dressing to appear as Theopropides (on vs. 431).

More frequently the actors leave early, stating that they are going to some definite place such as home, the forum or an inn. They casually mention that they are going, while their purpose in going is even more casual. There is clearly no reason other than economy of actors which causes Plautus to shift them before the scene ends. One instance is found in *Epidicus* I, 2, at vs. 157 where Stratippocles and Chaeribulus go off to the latter's house to spend a pleasant day:

*eamus intro huc ad te, ut hunc hodie diem
iuculente habeamus.*

The two leave *Epidicus* to a soliloquy of eight verses in which he "thinks aloud" about his next move, yet accomplishes nothing. He breaks off this line of thought abruptly, and rushes off into the house for fear of meeting the *senex* Apoecides (vs. 164), who actually does appear with Periphanes (II, 1, vs. 165). *Epidicus* leaves only eight verses before¹⁸ the close of the scene, which is the shortest interval during which a change from *adulescens* to *senex* takes place — for Stratippocles and Periphanes are the same actor. One might expect that the rôles of the two old men were doubled with those of the youths respectively, since both leave early before the scene ends, and the old men appear at the opening of the new scene. But in studying the four rôles in their relation with the others, one finds that Chaeribulus and Stratippocles are taken by different actors;

Stratippocles and Periphanes, however, as well as Thesprio, must be played by one man.

In the *Miles* II, 6, vs. 585, Sceledrus has just been convinced that it was the twin sister of Philocomasium whom he saw in the *atrium* of Periplectomenus' house. Fearing that he will never hear the end of having falsely accused the girl he decides to go home until the storm has subsided (vs. 582 ff):

*nam iam aliquo aufugiam et me occultabo aliquot dies
dum haec consilescunt turbae atque irae leniunt.
nam uni satis populo inpio merui mali.
verum tamendem quidquid est, ibo hinc domum.*

Periplectomenus now alone on the stage recites a short monologue (vss. 586—595), which expresses his satisfaction with Philocomasium's success in making Sceledrus think there are two girls, and then enters the house to take part in any plans which Palaestrio may have made, leaving the stage vacant. Nevertheless in the following scene the plans are discussed on the stage, so that Periplectomenus' monologue remains without importance, other than to take up time. The new scene (Act III, 1, vs. 596), shows Palaestrio coming out of Periplectomenus' house, peering about to ascertain that there are no unfriendly eavesdroppers lurking about, meanwhile reciting a drawn-out monologue (vss. 596—609) explaining his behavior. Finally at vs. 610 he summons Periplectomenus and Pleusicles. The early exit of Sceledrus at vs. 585 and this late entrance of Pleusicles at vs. 610, with the non-important monologue between, show definitely that Plautus intended these two rôles to be played by one actor.

Blepharo, in Act IV, 3, of the *Amphitruo* leaves somewhat hurriedly saying (vs. 1035):

*vos inter vos partite; ego abeo, mihi negotium est;
neque ego umquam usquam tanta mira me vidisse censeo.*

From the fragments of IV, 2, it can be ascertained that Mercury and Amphitruo are quarrelling while Alcumena is trying to defend herself against her husband's charges of unfaithfulness. Juppiter seems to have stood back, occasionally making only short aside remarks, for he does not reveal himself until the very end of the play. Amphitruo begs Blepharo to remain (vs. 1037):

Blepharo, quaeso ut advocatus mi adsis neve abeas

but Blepharo has enough and wants to get away, so he leaves (vs. 1038):

vale.

quid med advocato opust qui utri sim advocatus nescio?

This seems like a very natural departure after the very unusual happenings of the scene. Juppiter immediately goes into the house at vs. 1040 leaving Amphitruo to soliloquize (vss. 1040—1052) on the vengeance he will take on the man who has wronged him. Then he also goes into the house, leaving the stage vacant for

only a second before Bromia enters. There are fourteen verses (vss. 1038—1052) between the early unmotivated exit of Blepharo and the arrival of Bromia. This is a case where Plautus sends one actor off early, lets a second hold the attention of the audience for a short time, and gives the first a chance to change his costume, to appear as a third character at the opening of the new scene.

Slightly different from Blepharo's exit, which gives us information as to his destination or purpose, is that of Lysimachus in *Mercator* II, 2, vs. 32 b. He says that he is going to the harbor, but does not specify his business there (vs. 326):

ad portum propero, nam ibi mihi negotium est

though Demipho wishes him success. After he is gone, Demipho, who also had some business at the harbor (vs. 328) notices his own son up the street, and decides that he will attempt to persuade him to sell the girl and not give her as an *ancilla* to his mother. This is the substance of his seven verse monologue which is evidently intended to fill in the time needed by the actor playing Lysimachus to change his costume and appear again as Charinus at the opening of the following scene (II, 3, vs. 335).

Collybiscus in *Poenulus* III, 5, vs. 805, is another character who leaves before the end of a scene without declaring any definite reason for going (vss. 803—805):

dum lenonis familia

dormilat, extis sum satur factus probe.

apscedam hinc intro.

Agorastocles thanks the *advocati* (vss. 805—808) and then leaves them to exult in having been instrumental in duping the *leno* (vss. 808—816), twelve verses in all, which serve to entertain the spectators for the moment, and do not advance the action. In the meantime the actor who has left the stage at vs. 805 as Collybiscus has been preparing to appear at IV, 2, vs. 823, as Syncerastus. The early exit of Collybiscus points to a doubling; Milphio is the next to appear after his exit, but since the two have been on the stage together in III, 2, one must look further, and one finds after the short monologue scene of Milphio (IV, 1, vss. 817—822), which primarily is one of transition, that Syncerastus is the next entrant in the new scene. Again this is equivalent to a late arrival of Syncerastus, after an important introductory monologue.

Into this same class of early exits belongs Antipho's departure in *Stichus* I, 2, vs. 143. Panegyris and Pamphila have been firm in their determination to remain faithful to their long-absent husbands, and have opposed the plans of their father Antipho. When he has enough of the argument he says (vs. 143):

bene valete. ibo atque amicis vostra consilia eloquar.

and leaves at vs. 145. The end of the scene is filled by Panegyris and Pamphila, the latter sending Crocotium to call the parasite Gelasimus, through whom they

wish to ascertain whether their husbands' ships have arrived (vss. 145—154). This proves to be wholly unnecessary, since the parasite appears uncalled at vs. 155, and Pinacium later (II, 1, vss. 274 ff.) brings the news of the happy return. It is obvious then that Antipho has been taken off early to save an actor, and let the same man appear nine verses later as Gelasimus, while Panegyris and Pamphila remain on the stage.

After having taken up the early exits, where the person does not state the reason for departing more definitely than that it is "business" in a place like the harbor, forum, or with friends, we must next consider the cases of early exit of a person for a definite purpose, which is however never carried out. In four out of the five cases the departure thus motivated is followed up by a dialogue which is not of fundamental importance.

The first example is in *Amphitruo* II, 2, vs. 854, where Amphitruo quits the scene six verses early on the pretext:

ego huc ab navi mecum adducam Naucratem.

but returns in IV, 1, vs. 1009, without Naucrates:

Naucratem quem convenire volui in navi non erat

neque domi neque in urbe invenio quemquam qui illum viderit,

continuing to list the places where he has sought Naucrates, thus trying to excuse his long absence.

In the prologue we are told by Mercury-Sosia that first he and the true Sosia, then Juppiter and Amphitruo will be distinguishable only by certain small tokens (vs. 142):

nunc internosse ut nos possitis facilius,

ego has habebō usque (hic) in petaso pinnulas;

tum meo patri autem torulus inerit aureus

sub petaso: id signum Amphitruoni non erit.

ea signa nemo (homo) horum familiarium

videre poterit: verum vos videbitis.

The audience has then been fully informed that the pseudo-Sosia is to be recognized by the feathers in his cap, and the pseudo-Amphitruo by the golden curl. If then there is only this slight difference in dress, there is no reason why Amphitruo leaving at vs. 854 cannot run around from the *ad portum* exit, to the *a peregre* entrance, pull out the little curl from under his cap, and be ready to appear as the pseudo-Amphitruo in III, 1, vs. 861. In fact that is just what happens, for Plautus has again given us a clue as to how he wanted the rôles combined. Here the twin rôles can be taken by one man, and at this particular point he has inserted a dialogue of Sosia and Alcumena (vss. 855—857), and the latter's parting soliloquy, both of which are of secondary importance except for filling in the time after Amphitruo's exit.

On a similar pretext, also in the *Amphitruo*, Sosia goes off, sent by Juppiter at III, 3, vs. 967:

*tu gubernatorem a navi huc evoca verbis meis
Blepharonem, uti re divina facta mecum prandeat.*

Sosia promises to return immediately, Juppiter adds the admonition (vs. 969): *actutum huc redi*, but Sosia never returns, although Blepharo is at hand in IV, 2 (fragments). Following Sosia's exit in vs. 969 Alcumena exchanges a few words with Juppiter and then goes off to make the necessary preparations for the banquet. Juppiter remains on the stage (vss. 973—983) to inform the spectators that he is the pseudo-Amphitruo, and to summon the pseudo-Sosia, who instantly (vs. 984) rushes up the street, to receive orders that he must keep Amphitruo from the house. The audience absorbed in the plans which Juppiter has in mind, does not realize that the monologue has enabled the actor of Sosia to make the necessary change in costume, run around to the other entrance, and appear again running up the street. As in other cases, Plautus meant to have one actor play these rôles.¹⁹

In the *Aulularia* II, 5, vs. 328 Strobilus sends Anthrax away, to take a lamb which they bought at market into the house.

*Tace nunciam tu, atque agnum hinc uter est pinguior
(cape atque abi intro ad nos).*

Anthrax answers *licet* and leaves, giving the impression of complying with the orders. Congrio likewise is told to go and assist in the preparations for the marriage feast, but instead of obeying, he takes up Strobilus on the *pinguior agnus* and the two linger to exchange frivolous remarks (vss. 328—349). When they have apparently satisfied themselves, they go to Euclio's house and call out Staphyla who immediately appears (II, 6, vs. 350). The dialogue has served to amuse the public while the actor for Anthrax, whom the audience imagines off stage cooking a good dinner, has during those twenty verses laid aside the tunic of Anthrax, and put on the dress of Staphyla. This dialogue thus gives a clue to the most economical grouping of the parts.

Again, in the *Rudens* I, 2, vs. 159 Plesidippus runs away from Sceparnio and Daemones on the pretext of going up along the shore to see whether the men coming out of the water are the *leno* and his followers. He asks (vs. 156):

*ubi sunt ei homines opsecro? Daemones: hac ad dexteram
(viden?) secundum litus. Plesidippus answers: video, sequimini.
utinam is sit quem ego quaero, vir sacerrumus.
valete.*

He rushes off, leaving Sceparnio to describe to Daemones the rescue of two girls in the little boat as he sees it effected. It is surprising that Plautus would not allow Plesidippus to see his sweetheart rescued before he goes after the *leno*. But he

cannot stay; his early exit at this point indicates that the actor leaving here as Plesidippus must prepare for his appearance as Palaestra at vs. 185. Furthermore, the *leno* in II, 6, vs. 554 shows that Plesidippus has not carried out his purpose: *nunc si me adulescens Plesidippus viderit*. Plesidippus evidently was sent off then primarily to make a doubling of the rôles possible.²⁰

There is a parallel case in the *Epidicus* III, 4a, when the *Miles* sets out to seek Acropolistis. At vs. 492, he says:

ego illam requiram iam ubi est, bellator, vale.

After he has gone, Periphanes questions the pseudo-Acropolistis and learns from her that his son has set Acropolistis free. In anger he drives her away, and threatens to punish the conspirators at any cost (vss. 493—525). Acropolistis does not appear in the following scene as might be expected, but only in IV, 2, while the *Miles* disappears permanently, and does not seem to be missed. At vs. 567 Periphanes calls into the house to send out Acropolistis:

*eho! istinc, Canthara,
iube Telestidem huc prodire filiam ante aedis meam
ut suam videat matrem.*

Acropolistis appears at IV, 2, vs. 570:

quid est pater quod me excivisti ante aedis?

and reveals that the errand on which the *Miles* departed at vs. 492 was merely a pretext. As a matter of fact, the true purpose of his withdrawal was to allow the actor to be off in time to assume the rôle of Philippa who comes on at IV, I, vs. 526, just thirty-three verses after the *Miles'* departure.

Another method Plautus employs in removing an actor from the scenes in time to change his dress, is to have him driven off by another person, or persons, who then again hold the attention of the spectators with talk that has no particular connection with the main theme of the play.

In the *Aulularia* I, 2, vs. 103, for instance, Euclio, on the point of going to the forum, commands Staphyla not to permit anyone to enter the house (vs. 103):

tace atque abi intro.

She obeys while Euclio holds the conventional monologue (vss. 103—119), in which he regrets having to leave home, though he must nevertheless do so to keep up the appearance of being a poor man. The audience, in watching Euclio, has given little thought to the manner in which Staphyla has quit the stage. It was however very necessary for her to leave, for the actor must be ready within sixteen verses to appear again as Eunomia (vs. 119).

The *Epidicus* I, 1, vs. 80 shows Thesprio after the long scene of reciprocal abuses finally being driven off by Epidicus (vs. 78):

Thesprio: *abi in malam rem maxumam a me
cum istac condicione.* Epidicus: *i sane — siquidem festinas magis*
Thesprio: *numquam hominem quemquam conveni unde abierim lubentius.*

From the following words of Epidicus (vs. 81):

illic hinc abiit

it is certain that Thesprio has departed, leaving Epidicus alone to deliver a canticum (vss. 81—103) in which he takes stock of what he has done, and the advantage his plans for the future could be to him. Suddenly he stops his musing and steps aside to eavesdrop on the conversation of Chaeribulus and Stratippocles who are just approaching; he thus makes the transition between the two *senes*. Again we find that a transitional monologue, in this case a monody, has to provide time to make possible the doubling of the two rôles of Thesprio and Stratippocles.²¹

Similarly in the *Mercator* IV, 4, vs. 782 Lysimachus has grown quite impatient with the *coquus* for not taking the hint to desist discussing the plans for the feast in the presence of Dorippa, and ultimately drives him away (vs. 778):

quin abis?

potine ut molestus ne sis?

The cook does not yield ground without commanding his assistants to follow him: (vs. 779 ff):

agite apponite

opsonium istuc ante pedes illi seni.

haec vassa aut mox aut cras iubebo aps te peti.

sequiminei.

Lysimachus vainly attempts an explanation to Dorippa, who sends Syra for her father, and goes home unreconcilable. Lysimachus, now alone on the stage, recites a monologue of despair (vss. 789—802). In the following scene, with the prompt appearance of Syra²² (IV, 5, vs. 803), the early exit of the *coquus* is explained. It is just another case of where Plautus has taken one character off early, leaving two others to occupy the stage while the actor of the first, who must take another rôle, is preparing to appear as a fourth character in the following scene.

The *Epidicus* IV, 2, discloses a case parallel to the preceding one. Periphanes, *senex* sends off Philippa with the words (vs. 603):

inveniam tace.

abi modo intro atque hanc adserva Circam Solis filiam.

Following this he has a two-verse monologue before he leaves at the scene-end (vs. 606). The stage is left vacant for only a moment, then in Act V, 1, vs. 607 Stratippocles opens the scene with another two-verse monologue, explaining his impatience at the *Danista's* non-appearance. Epidicus joins him in the dialogue (vss. 610—620) when the *Danista* finally comes (vs. 620):

Epidicus: *sed quis haec est muliercula et ille gravastellus qui venit?*

Stratippocles: *hic est danista, haec illa est autem quam emi de praeda.* It is the *Danista* whom Stratippocles has been so feverishly awaiting and on whom the interest of the spectators is centered, yet his arrival is necessarily delayed because there was not time for a change of garb between the early exit of Philippa (vs. 604), just two verses before the end of one scene and the opening of the next.

As has been shown above²³ Acropolistis disappeared after vs. 595 to allow the actor to dress and reappear as the *Danista* at vs. 621, so that during the dialogue of Stratippocles and Epidicus two actors have been changing from one rôle to another: Philippa to Telestis, and Acropolistis to the *Danista*.

Still another instance is found in *Mercator* IV, 4, vs. 770. Dorippa is driven off by Lysimachus with the words:

cras petito; dabitur. nunc abi.

Dorippa replies (vs. 770):

heu miserae mihi,

becomes silent and probably leaves the stage. By this means the actor is removed from the stage and has ample time (thirty-two verses) to change his attire and reappear at the opening of the following scene (IV, 5) as Eutychus (vs. 803).

An extension of this purposeless dismissal is found in the *Aulularia* III, 3—5. Euclio drives Congrio off at the end of III, 3, vs. 458:

*lege agito mecum. molestus ne sis. i cenam coque,
aut abi in malum cruciatum ab aedibus.*

to which Congrio answers:

abi tu modo.

but he himself nevertheless goes off. The command *i cenam coque* must not be taken too seriously. The following verses show that Euclio meant to say nothing more than: do anything, only go away! Upon this follows the monologue scene III, 4, in the opening of which Euclio discloses his distrust of Megadorus for having sent the cooks into his house. After this he discusses the uselessness of words and ends with the announcement of Megadorus' arrival. His words (vss. 460—474) are a complete scene, but in reality the case is not at all different from a monologue at the end of a scene, since the purpose remains the same, namely, to give the actor playing the *servus* Congrio time to assume the rôle of the *adulescens* Megadorus, entering at vs. 475.

Not only does a monologue follow the purposeless dismissal of a person, but there are also several instances of a dialogue between those staying on the stage. A very interesting case is in the *Cistellaria* II, 3, vs. 596, Phanostrata's departure thirty-five verses before the end of the scene.

At vs. 591 Phanostrata asks:

quid nunc vis facere me?

Lampadio, willing to say as much as "nothing!", replies:

intro abi atque animo bono es,

but adds as a mere afterthought (vss. 592—593):

vir tuo' si veniet, iube domi opperirier,

ne in quaestione mihi sit, si quid eum velim —

Phanostrata however needs a second admonition (vs. 596):

uti abeas domum.

In the dialogue which follows (vss. 597—625) Melaenis recounts the past history of Demipho and Selenium. This lends importance, whereby the dialogue becomes exceptional among the others which merely provide time for the actor playing more than one rôle. Lampadio goes after he has received this information and the stage is left vacant, since Melaenis immediately retires, ostensibly to bring Selenium to her parents (vss. 626—630). In Act III, i, vs. 631, Melaenis returns bringing Selenium with her. From the opening words of the new scene (vs. 631):

*Rem elocuta sum tibi omnem; sequeren, mea Selenium*²⁴

it is apparent that there need be no pause for change of rôles. Phanostrata has been sent off at vs. 596, thereupon follow a dialogue and monologue closely connected with the plot, and after thirty-five verses, the new scene opens with the re-entrance of Melaenis bringing out Selenium. This is ample time for making even the most elaborate changes in dress, and hence sufficient to change from Phanostrata to Selenium.

Acroteleutium and Milphidippa in the *Miles* IV, 6, vs. 1280 are sent off by Pyrgopolynices without any motive. Milphidippa (vs. 1279) warns him:

vide ne sies in expectatione,

ne illam animi excrucies.

The soldier answers vs. 1280:

non ero projecto . abile .

and the two women leave with a parting: *abimus.*

Pyrgopolynices and Palaestrio do not enter into any important business discussion but merely announce the arrival of Pleusicles disguised as a sailor (vss. 1281—1283). The latter has come (IV, 7, vs. 1284) to call for Philocomasium, who keeps him waiting until IV, 7, vs. 1310 when the soldier exclaims: *eccos exeunt!* In this case the plot demands that Philocomasium remain in the house until Pleusicles has explained the situation to the soldier, and Palaestrio has been in to summon her and to get the baggage. Just twenty-eight verses elapse (vss. 1281—1310), during which the actor changes from the one female rôle, Acroteleutium, to the other, Philocomasium. The rôle of Philocomasium falls with Acroteleutium's and not with Milphidippa's because the latter is played by the actor of Periplectomenus.²⁵

A very peculiar situation is found in the *Poenulus* V, 3. Agorastocles and Hanno call out Giddenis, *nutrix*, who without hesitation recognizes her former master, and informs him of his daughter's whereabouts. At vs. 1142 Giddenis is talking in Punic with the *puer*: *hauonbanesillimustine*

mepsietenestedumetalannacestimim,

and thereafter says not a word.

At vs. 1147 Hanno commands Milphio to take the *nutrix* to his house:

tu abduc hosce intro et una nutricem semul

iube hanc abire hinc ad te.

then says not a word. At vs. 1147 Hanno commands Milphio to take the *nutrix* to his house: *tu abduc hosce intro et una nutricem semul/iube hanc abire hinc ad te.* and this command is endorsed by Agorastocles vs. 1148: *jac quod imperat.* Milphio assents vs. 1150: *abeo igitur*, but does not depart until vs. 1154. This means then that Giddenis leaves the stage with Milphio at vs. 1154 without any other pretext than that Hanno has indirectly told her to go to his house. After they have left, Hanno and Agorastocles have time to arrange the marriage between the older daughter and Agorastocles, before the girls appear (vss. 1155—1168).²⁶ In the following scene (V, 4) the girls step up to Hanno and Agorastocles, and we realize that Giddenis has left early so as to give the actor the opportunity to appear nineteen verses later as Anterastilis²⁷ (V, 4, vs. 1174).

Milphio has earlier in the play had the same duty of sending off a character without giving a reason (IV, 2, vs. 916), when, after a long scene with Syncerastus, he is informed that the two women are of free birth. As soon as he has the desired information he becomes very anxious to be rid of his informant, so (vs. 916) he says: *potin ut taceas?* and Syncerastus replies *taceo atque abeo*, leaving Milphio alone on the stage. After a verbose monologue (vss. 916—922) Milphio, already entertaining hopes and plans for outwitting the *leno*, goes into the house to his master. Hanno entering shortly after, upon a vacant stage, is probably impersonated by the actor for Syncerastus. Plautus in dispatching this character before the scene closes, and inserting the unimportant soliloquy (vss. 916—922) effects a very economical doubling of parts.

In the *Miles* IV, 8, Palaestrio and Pyrgopolynices dismiss Pleusicles and Philocomasium on the pretext that they desire to confer alone awhile (vs. 1353):

ite cito, iam ego adsequar vos: cum ero pauca volo loqui.

One is surprised that the ensuing dialogue is of no importance for carrying forward the action of the play; it is merely a bantering between master and slave over the faithfulness of the latter. While this dialogue serves to amuse the audience, its actual purpose is presumably to give the actor appearing as *puer* (IV, 9, vss. 1378—1393) twenty-two verses to get ready, after he has played Philocomasium (off at vs. 1355).

There is only one instance where an actor is sent off quite early in the same

scene in which he must later play a second rôle. In the *Mostellaria* II, 1, vs. 398 Delphium and Philematium are told by Tranio to withdraw:

omnium primum, Philematium, intro abi, et tu, Delphium.

The party has just been broken up by the announcement of the unexpected return of Theopropides, and the plan is formed to make the house as silent as if it were unoccupied. First of all Tranio sends away the women, who have not spoken during the whole scene except in vss. 373—374 where Delphium tries to awaken the intoxicated men. There are already five characters on the stage: Tranio, Philolaches, Callidamates, Delphium, and Philematium, while at vs. 420 the sixth, the *puer* has a short speech to make. The paradoxical situation produced when the almost silent women are sent off, while the men, who, in their ebrious condition, would be more likely to spoil the scheme, are retained, indicates clearly that Plautus was pressed for actors. He needed at least one actor free so that he might include the short but very effective message of the *puer*.

It has been pointed out that only Delphium spoke during the banquet scene, while Philematium remained silent. This is explained by the fact that Plautus intended a substitute to be sent in to the banquet scene between vss. 345 and 348, so that the trained actor would be free to take the part of Tranio in the heavy scene. At this point Delphium holds the attention of the audience, and hence remains on the stage until it is time for her to go, enabling the actor to appear as the *puer*. It is always possible to say that the rôle of the *puer* can be taken by an untrained actor, yet when Plautus so carefully shifts the actors of the women's part, he is certain to have a definite purpose for doing so.

There is still another type of unmotivated early exit, followed by the unimportant dialogue or monologue, which points to a combination of rôles for the economy of actors. A person is allowed to go off in anger and disgust leaving another alone to bemoan his fate, or possibly to express his own anger and disgust with the one who has just departed. This serves to heighten the comic effect and for the moment concentrates the attention of the spectators upon the absurdity of the situation, not allowing them to realize that the action of the plot is almost at a standstill.

In the *Poenulus* I, 3, vs. 444 it is Milphio who takes an early departure. From the beginning of this very amusing scene, Agorastocles tries to get Milphio to help him circumvent the *leno*. Agorastocles says *jugio* (vs. 427) but he does not escape before Milphio angrily retreats (vss. 442—444):

si nequeo jacere ut abeas, egomet abiero;

nam isti quidem orationi Oedipo

opus coniectore, qui Sphingi interpretes fuit.

It is only after delivering a four-verse monologue of worry and indecision provoked by Milphio's anger that he goes off (vs. 488). Opening the following scene (II, 1, vs. 449) with a monologue, Lycus commences by acknowledging his repentance and

his intentions to change his practices. This theme he interrupts rather suddenly to announce the approach of Antamoenides, for in that time (twenty-six verses) the other actor playing Milphio, has dressed and reappears again as Antamoenides.

To this group of unmotivated early exits belongs that of Lesbonicus at III, 2, vs. 716 of the *Trinummus*. Verses 712 ff. are his last words before his departure:

*nihil ego in occulto agere soleo. Mens ut animus eloquar:
si mihi tua soror, ut ego aequom censeo, ita nuptum datur,
sine dote, neque tu hinc abiturus, quod meum erit id erit tuum;
sin aliter animatus es — bene quod agas eveniat tibi,
ego amicus numquam tibi ero alio pacto. sic sententia est.*

Lysiteles makes no answer, and goes off without comment.²⁸ Stasismus' monologue which fills out the scene (vss. 717—728) is built on the same plan as the others with similar purpose: first comes the question *quid agam?* (vs. 718) then a possible fate is suggested for comic effect, and finally his reason for going to the forum is made known. Immediately thereafter Megaronides can step forward (vs. 729) and no pause occurs between scenes since the actor by virtue of his early exit has been able, during eleven verses, to dress as Megaronides.

This motif is again used in the *Cistellaria* II, 1, G. Melaenis quarrels with Alcesimarchus after she hears that his father has engaged him to another girl. The *adulescens* protests that he will marry no one but Melaenis' daughter; but nevertheless when Melaenis continues to scold, he leaves infuriated, (vs. 524 ff):

*nisi ego teque tuamque filiam aequae hodie optruncavero,
poste autem cum primo luci cras nisi ambo occidero,
et equidem hercle nisi pedatu tertio omnis ecflixerō,
nisi tu illam remittis ad me dixi quae volui. vale.*

Melaenis as seen from her monologue (vss. 528—535) regrets that she has refused to let him see her daughter, for she now fears the earnestness of his last words. In closing she points out someone rushing up the street; this turns out to be Lampadio who at once delivers a short monologue (II, 2, vss. 536—542). There seems to be no reason why he could not have come immediately after Alcesimarchus' departure, were it not that the same actor has to play both parts, and the monologue of Melaenis is the means of concealing this fact from the ordinary spectator.

Still another example of the exit of an angry person is in the *Truculentus* Act IV, 2, vs. 757. Astaphium and Diniarchus have a long and excited argument; Diniarchus is demanding the rights for which he has paid heavily, and Astaphium is telling of Strabax' success, and is refusing Diniarchus admittance to their house. When he tries to use force, she angrily runs in (vs. 756):

Diniarchus: *mittin me intro?* Astaphium: *mendax es, abi.
unum aiebas, tria iam dixti verba atque (ea) mendacia.*

From the next speech of Diniarchus vs. 758: *abiit intro, exclusit* it is evident that she has left him there standing before the locked door, threatening to report the women, and to proclaim their bad behavior through all the streets (vss. 758—770). Then he perceives the *senex*, Callicles, approaching with the two *ancillae*, and the usual transition to the next scene follows. As in so many other cases, after the exit of Astaphium the actor has been allowed seventeen verses to change his dress and appear again as Callicles, while Diniarchus has interested the audience in a non-essential and purely comic monologue. By calling particular attention to the arrival of the *senex*, he keeps the spectators from suspecting that they have before them the same man who left a short while before.

Unique in motive is the early exit of Melaenis in *Cistellaria* III, 1. When Melaenis and Selenium come out of their house, Alcesimarchus threatens to use the knife which he is brandishing. He ends by dragging Selenium off into the house, and cries as he goes (vs. 649):

*ubi estis, servi? occludite aedis pessulis, repagulis.
ibo, hanc ego tetulero intra limen.*

After two verses Melaenis hoping to come to an understanding with Alcesimarchus, rushes into the house, leaving the stage vacant for a moment. The new scene (IV, 1, vs. 653) begins with Lampadio's condemnation of his mistress, while a transition is effected by his sudden discovery of the *cistella*. At this moment Phanostrata steps up to him (vs. 658). Melaenis, at the end of III, 1, probably had an opportunity to display great excitement and use up some time, but in order to provide the actor with sufficient time for a change, the short monologue has been inserted to increase to eight the number of verses spoken while the actor is laying aside the dress of Selenium and donning that of Phanostrata. There does not at this point seem to be a pause in action necessitated by time demands for changing rôles.

Another unusual case is in the *Mostellaria* III, 1. The *Danista* has demanded settlement from Tranio (vss. 560—615). Theopropides, enquiring into the cause of the argument, is told that his son has borrowed forty minas with which to buy a house. Exceedingly pleased that his son has such interests, he promises to settle with the *Danista* (vss. 653—655):

Theopropides: *adulescens, mecum rem habe.* Danista: *nempe aps te petam?*

Theopropides: *petito cras.*

This satisfies the *Danista*, and he departs (vs. 654):

aqueo: sat habeo si cras jero.

Naturally Theopropides wants to see what sort of a house his son has bought. Tranio, at first embarrassed, invents the story about the house of his neighbor Simo. They approach this and call out Simo, who, at the end of the scene (vs. 687) appears at the door, but does not speak until III, 2, vs. 690. It is evidently to allow the actor, playing the *Danista* until vs. 654, time for the necessary changes that

Plautus lets Theopropides restrain his curiosity about the house until after the *Danista* has withdrawn. By this means the *Danista*'s impersonator can be using the thirty-three verses for dressing, while the stage is occupied by two other characters.

The above early exits for facilitating changes of rôle and avoiding pauses have all been unmotivated, or if motivated, the purpose has not been carried out. Besides these there are exceptions to the rule, where the motive which takes the actor off early does lead to action. Yet in all other respects the same technique is employed, namely, that a monologue or dialogue disguises the real necessity of the exit, while the actor is off stage changing his costume.

An example of this is in the *Bacchides* II, 3, vs. 348. Nicobulus leaves with the words:

at ego hinc ad illum (his son Mnesilochus) *ut conveniam quantum potest.*

The following comic monologue of Chrysalus (vss. 349—367) is quite in conformity with the type as it is found with the unmotivated exits. He leaves the stage vacant and Lydus immediately enters, twenty verses after Nicobulus' early exit. The subsequent scenes reveal that Nicobulus has really met his son. In III, 4, vs. 520 Mnesilochus says:

projecto stabilest me patri aurum reddere.

and in III, 6, vs. 530 he states that he has turned over the money to his father:

Reddidi patri omne aurum.

So the purpose of Nicobulus' exit has been accomplished before he returns on the stage in IV, 6, vs. 799, an exception to the usual procedure when early exits are used to economize in the number of actors.

In the *Captivi* Tyndarus, posing as Philocrates, finally leaves in II, 3, vs. 452 with the understanding that he is either to return with Hegio's son, or that the true Philocrates is to pay a forfeit of twenty minas to Hegio. The scene ending at vs. 460 is filled out with a monologue by Hegio in which he plans to look after his other slaves, and compliments himself for having bought the two captives. The departure of Tyndarus comes only eight verses before Ergasilus begins his long monologue III, 1, vs. 461. If these lines alone are not sufficient for an actor to exchange the rôle of the captive for that of the parasite, one may allow either a slight pause between the acts, or a little time exceeding the amount which Hegio may need in reciting his verses. Certainly by analogy to other cases of parallel construction, there can be no doubt that the rôles of Tyndarus and Ergasilus are intended to be combined.

Ampelisca in the *Rudens* II, 4, vs. 414 goes to the villa to fetch water, and allows Sceparnio to draw it from the well. While awaiting his return, she spies Labrax, the *leno*, at a distance. Not waiting for Sceparnio to return, she runs off greatly perturbed (vs. 454 ff.):

*sed quid ego cesso fugere in janum ac dicere haec
Palaestrae, in aram ut conjugiamus priu' quam huc
scelestus leno veniat nosque hic opprimat?
conjugiam huc, ita res suppetit, subita via.*

The scene ends here, and the entire next scene II, 5, vss. 458—484, is devoted to a monologue of Scepharnio, who searches and calls for Ampelisca, thinking that she has merely played a trick on him. His monologue is sufficiently drawn out for filling in the time between the exit and entrance of an actor playing two rôles. Here there are twenty-six verses (vss. 458—484) allowed for a change from the *mulier*, Ampelisca, to Labrax, *leno*. The technique is slightly different from the usual in as much as Ampelisca actually does tell Palaestra of the *leno*, for from III, 3, it is clear that the girls have been crouching at the altar within the temple, and that the *leno* had tried to drag them off from there.

Another instance of the motivated early exit indicating an exchange of rôles is found in the *Trinummus* II, 4. It comes at the end of an extremely long scene in which Lesbonicus, Stasimus, and Philto have discussed more or less seriously, the marriage plans of Lesbonicus and Lysiteles' sister. At vs. 580 Philto says:

*i hac, Lesbonice, mecum, ut coram nuptiis
dies constituatur; eadem haec confirmabimus.*

But Lesbonicus does not follow him immediately. Instead, he lingers to argue with Stasimus (vss. 582—590) who finally succeeds in driving him off. Stasimus still lingers, makes unimportant comments on the state of affairs, and finally decides to take the message to Callicles (vss. 590—601) as Lesbonicus had ordered him, in vs. 582. Although Philto does not again appear on the stage, Lesbonicus and Lysiteles are shown conferring about the marriage, thus gratifying the expectations of the spectator. It is very striking that Philto went off so soon, and that neither Lesbonicus nor Stasimus hurries to attend to his business. But the situation is explained when Callicles appears immediately after Stasimus' departure, III, 1, vs. 602; the twenty-one verses have allowed the actor to lay aside the costume of Philto and appear in that of Callicles.

The *Captivi* III, 5, furnishes another of these exceptional cases where the motive for the early exit is achieved and is closely connected with the main thread of the story. Hegio has confronted the pseudo-Philocrates with Aristophontes, and has discovered the escape of the true Philocrates. He is greatly provoked at this, and orders the deceiver sent to the stone quarries (vs. 735):

*inde extra portam ad meum libertum Cordalum
in lapicidas facite deductus siet:
atque hunc me velle dicite ita curarier
ne qui deterius huic sit quam quoi pessume est.*

Although he gives the same command again: *abducite* (vs. 746); he is not obeyed before vs. 750, as we learn from Hegio himself in vs. 751:

illic est abductus recta in phylacam, ut dignus est.

The last seventeen verses of the scene, are principally Hegio's expression of disappointment in mankind and his despair of ever seeing either his son or Philocrates again (vss. 751—763). Thereupon he takes Aristophontes back to his chains (vss. 764—766).

From Tyndarus himself (V, 4, vss. 998—1005) we later learn that he suffered many tortures at the quarries and this is verified by Hegio (V, 3, vss. 993—996), who is naturally grieved at having subjected his own child to such ordeals. The motive then for taking Tyndarus off early in III, 5, has been carried out. Nevertheless, the early exit is used for the economy of actors: Ergasilus must be there again by IV, 1, vs. 768, so that the words of Hegio (vss. 751—765) become a necessity if the actor is to take the second rôle.

The early exit followed by a monologue or dialogue is the most frequent indicator of combinations of rôles. Often the early exit is not sufficiently early, and the entering character must come in late in the following scene. Another phase of this method, is to let the actor finish out the first scene, and reappear late, sometimes exceedingly so, in the second scene.

In the *Casina* V, 3, Chalinus arrives vs. 960 just before the end of the scene (vs. 962). Act V, 2, closes with a dialogue of Pardalisca and Olympio, with no allusion as to when or where they are going — the last speech made by Olympio is at vs. 936:

sed concrepuerunt fores. num illa me nunc sequitur?

It is however not the *illa* (*Casina*), but Lysidamus who comes out, giving vent to his anger toward Olympio (V, 3, vss. 937—960) for the treatment he has received at the latter's hands. Chalinus then comes at the very end of the scene calling to him (vs. 960):

heus! asta ilico, amator.

Lysidamus pretending not to hear, tries to get away. But Chalinus is persistent and makes him face Cleustrata, Myrrhina, and Olympio so that there are five actors here together. It seems here as though Plautus was limited to a troupe of five actors, since the late arrival of Chalinus, and the silent departure of Pardalisca show that the same actor was intended to play these two parts, especially since there is no excuse given for Chalinus' late entrance²⁹.

The parasite Gelasimus, in *Stichus* I, 3, takes up the first half of the scene with a monologue, elaborately discussing his insatiable craving for food. At the thirty-third verse, Crocotium who has supposedly searched for him all over town, steps on the stage, but does not interfere with his flow of words until after thirty more verses. Plautus could easily have arranged to let her meet him before the long

search, had it not been for the limitation in the number of actors, and the necessity of having the parasite fill in the time needed for the change of costumes. The actor for Crocotium must come in late because he has had to play Panegyris who remained on the stage, until the very end of the preceding scene (I, 2, vs. 154). In this instance, however, Crocotium is given an excuse, that she has been searching for the parasite, thus creating a time illusion, as well as deceiving the public as to the real reason for her late appearance.

Act I, 2, of the *Pseudolus* gives an interesting suggestion about the number of actors and supers in the complete troupe.³⁰ In Act I, 1, Pseudolus and Calidorus are on the stage, and announce (vs. 131) the entrance of Ballio out of his house. They step aside and watch the *leno*, who first delivers orders to his *lorarii*. Then, just as he is about to go to market, remembering that he had other orders to give, he admonishes several of his *meretrices* to get as much for him as possible.

At vs. 157 he says to the first *lorarius*:

tu qui urnam habes aquamingere, jace plenum ahenum sit coquo.

To the second (vs. 158):

te cum securi caudicali praeicio provinciae

and (vs. 161):

*tibi hoc praecipio ut niteant aedes. habes quod facias:
propera, abi intro.*

Then he turns to the third (vs. 162):

Tu esto lectisterniator

and to the fourth (vs. 162):

tu argentum eluito, idem exstruito

and sends him off (vs. 168):

intro abile atque haec cito celebra

Finally at vs. 170, he is ready to go to market and tells another slave:

i, puere, prae.

But he stops short (vs. 171):

vel opperire, est quod domi dicere paene fui oblitus

and with that he calls his *meretrices*. He probably goes to the door of the house and calls into it (vs. 172):

auditin? vobis, mulieres, hanc habeo edictionem.

whereupon he adds a general admonition to all of them (vss. 173—186). Subsequently he calls out first Hedylium (vs. 187), then Aeschrodora (vs. 196), Xytilis (vs. 210), and finally Phoenicium (vs. 227), giving each a personal warning and sending each on her way.

It would seem that there was a large troupe needed to present this scene, for there are three speaking characters (Ballio, Pseudolus, Calidorus) and nine servants who are mute except in vs. 159. However, there are by no means twelve actors needed for the play.

At vs. 156 Ballio calls all of his *lorarii* out:

adsistite omnes contra me et quae loquor advortite animum.

Then he sends four of them off. At vs. 170 he addresses the boy, which is thirteen verses after his order to the first slave and ample time for the actor playing the first slave to make any changes necessary in costume and be on stage again by vs. 170. So there are only four actors needed for the five slaves.

At vs. 172 Ballio goes to the house and begins his general *edictionem* to the women. Only at vs. 188 does he call out Hedyllium. This time sixteen verses at least again have been sufficient for any one of the *lorarii* to change to this *meretrix*, and the one who departed at vs. 162 has over twenty-five verses. Ballio calls out the other three women in turn. The *puer* may have remained on the stage; in which case there are only three other actors free to appear after each interval, but there is a sufficient interval, so that these suffice. In such a procedure there are at most four mute and three speaking actors on the stage at this time. To carry the action of the play, in the other scenes, only four trained actors are needed. This fourth actor can take one of the mute parts in I. 2, so that for the *Pseudolus* there are needed four trained actors and three *supers*.¹

To sum up then, there are in the Plautine plays many unmotivated early exits followed by monologues or dialogues which merely entertain the spectators for a short time but do not carry forward the action of the plot. Frequently too, there are unmotivated late arrivals preceded by similar monologues and dialogues. These, as I hope to have shown, are rather reliable indications of the manner in which Plautus intended the rôles to be combined. The person departing early and one of the characters of the scene following the monologue can be assigned to the same actor, whose change of dress is made possible by the interval of the monologue. These passages then, not only indicate how Plautus would have assigned the parts, but show also that he was writing for very limited troupes.

Notes.

¹ Schanz-Hosius: Teil I, 1927, 4. Ausg., p. 146: Die Zahl der Schauspieler war im römischen Drama an keine Beschränkung gebunden; der Schauspieldirektor konnte es daher so einrichten, daß ein Schauspieler nur eine einzige Rolle übernahm.

² See below, page 28.

³ See below, page 26.

⁴ See below, page 20.

⁵ See below, page 26.

⁶ This is diametrically opposed to all theories which require characters of the same sex and age to be combined, if there is to be any satisfactory doubling of rôles.

⁷ In the *Bacchides* the parts of the Bacchides sisters are the only two female rôles, which, since the women always appear simultaneously, cannot be taken by one actor.

⁸ See below, page 37.

⁹ Some lines may require much more time for recitation than others, just depending upon the circumstances; thus it would take much longer to say six lines while searching for someone or something, than to pronounce twelve while facing the audience.

¹⁰ Maria Sack: *Darstellerzahl und Rollenverteilung bei Shakespeare* p. 29: In Heywood's *The Fair Maid of the Exchange* there are ten verses needed for Cripple to dress Golding on the stage. The former leaves after eight verses, and presumably not before the change has been completed. p. 31: in *Mucedorus* there are only nine verses allowed for a change of costume.

¹¹ W. J. Lawrence: *Shakespeare's Workshop* p. 9. The hired men from whom the sharers were chosen, were prepared to play rôles of different age and sex. Elderly women's rôles were taken by men and doubled with male parts.

¹² Kelley Rees: *Three Actor Rule*, Chicago, 1908, p. 76, points out that in Aeschylus' *Persae* one actor was expected to take Atossa and Xerxes.

¹³ W. J. Lawrence p. 8 states that the morality play *The Tyde Tarrieth for no Man*, with eighteen characters, was presented by a troupe of four players: two men playing six parts each, one man four, the last, two parts.

¹⁴ Cicero: *De Officiis* I, 31, 114: Suum quisque igitur noscat ingenium acremque se et bonorum et vitiorum suorum iudicem praebeat, ne scaenici plus quam nos videantur habere prudentiae. Illi enim non optumas, sed sibi accommodatissimas fabulas eligunt: qui voce freti sunt, Epigonos Medumque, qui gestu, Melanippam, Clytemnestram, semper Rupilus quem ego memini Antiopam, non saepe Aesopus Aiacem... etc.

¹⁵ Cicero: *Ad Att.* IV, 15, 6: (speaking of Antiphon): In Andromacha tamen maior fuit quam Astyanax; in ceteris parem habuit neminem.

¹⁶ Quintilian: *Inst. Orat.* XI, 3, 178: Maximos actores comoediarum, Demetrium et Stratoclea, placere diversis virtutibus vidimus. Sed illud minus mirum quod alter deos et juvenes et bonos patres, servosque et matronas et graves anus optime, alter acres senes, callidos servos, parasitos, lenones et omnia agitatiora melius. Fuit enim natura diversa; nam vox quoque Demetrii iucundior, illius acrior erat.

¹⁷ See below, p. 30.

¹⁸ C. C. Conrad, *The Technique of Continuous Action in Roman Comedy*, Menasha, 1915 p. 77 suggests that the available evidence of New Comedy shows *Χορὸς* under two conditions: (1) intervening between the exit and return of the same character, and (2) intervening between the exit of a character and the entrance of a different character. In Roman Comedy vacant stages appear under similar conditions, yet cases of the former type are few and uncertain. Here at vs. 165 there is a vacant stage, since Epidicus who has had a monologue (vss. 158—164) leaves at vs. 164, and two different characters, Apocides and Periphanes come on at vs. 165. Conrad (p. 61) groups this instance of vacant stage among those in which the critics do not agree as to whether the action be continuous or not. Yet, since it in type is analogous to the situations where a monologue prepares for coming action, and where action is continuous, Conrad also here believes that we have continuous action. However, this passage must also be studied in regard to the time allowed for the change of costumes. Here there are only eight verses, which would hardly be adequate for a com-

plete change of rôles, so that one would be inclined to say that there was more time allowed between the exit of the youths and the appearance of the old men. Possibly this points to a slight pause and a musical interlude of some sort in the original.

¹⁹ The twin-rôles thus fit together very well except in I, 1, where Mercury-Sosia is taken by the actor of Alcumena, and in IV, 3, where the Juppiter-Amphitruo, who probably does not say much, is given to a supernumerary actor.

²⁰ In III, 6, both Palaestra and Plesidippus are on the stage together again. The latter concentrates on the *leno*, scarcely noticing the girl who remains silent. There probably is a mute supernumerary actor playing the rôle of Palaestra.

²¹ It must be Stratippocles and Thesprio, since the other combination of Thesprio and Chaeribulus would not be so economical in grouping the remaining rôles.

²² In IV, 4, vs. 788 Dorippa has sent Syra off to call her father, and Syra answers *eo*. Since this is the only word spoken, it is reasonable to suppose that a super takes the part of Syra in this scene.

²³ See above, p. 21.

²⁴ C. C. Conrad: p. 81, does not admit a pause here, but thinks that Melaeis retires to her home and *immediately* returns with Selenium. She leaves the stage vacant. Her words, upon return, suggest off-stage action during the interval.

²⁵ In III, 3, both women are again on the stage together, but Milphidippa remains silent. Simultaneously Palaestrio and Periplectomenus are there. Palaestrio's rôle falls with that of Cario (IV, 9), while the silent Milphidippa indicates a coupling of her rôle with that of Periplectomenus.

²⁶ The passage vss. 1169—1173, in which Milphio again speaks and which (vss. 1172—1173) repeats vss. 1147—1148, is considered spurious by Ussing, Ritschl, Brachmann and others.

²⁷ In this case, since the rôles of Adelphasium and Anterastilis are identical, it would be either one that is played by the actor of Giddeis.

²⁸ Stasimus vs. 716 turns to ask Lysiteles a question and finds he has disappeared: *ecquid audis, Lysiteles? Ego te volo. hic quoque hinc abiit. Stasime, restas solus.*

²⁹ For the play as we have it to-day, six actors are required, but it seems as though Plautus was writing for a troupe of five. See below, page 60 f.

³⁰ It would seem that cantica and lyrical portions of the plays might be assigned to any of the actors of a troupe. The *Miles* includes absolutely no lyrical parts, the *Asinaria* has only one song by Argyrippus (vss. 127—138). In the *Menaechmi* merely actor III does not sing (see below, p. 66), while actor I has only vss. 110—120, and the other two have comparatively short lyrical parts. The actors of the *Amphitruo* (see below, p. 52 f.) have a reasonable amount: actor III sings as Sosia vss. 153—262, as Alcumena vss. 633—653, and as Bromia vss. 1053—1068; actor II as Mercury vss. 984—1008; and actor I as Amphitruo vss. 551—573. The heaviest musical rôles are found in the *Casina* (see Leo p. 104 f.) where all four actors must sing almost as much as speak. Reviewing the cantica of the other plays, we find that practically all the actors were required to take sung parts, if the doubling of rôles as suggested here, be adopted as criterion.

The following works form the basis for this conclusion: F. Leo: *Die Plautinischen Cantica und die hellenistische Lyrik*, Abhand. der K. Ges. d. Wiss. Göttingen. Philolog.-Histor. Klasse, Neue Folge Bd. I, Nr. 7, 1897.

Fried. Crusius: *Die Responson in den Plaut. Cantica*, Philologus 1929, Suppl. Bd. 21, Heft 1.

³¹ One cannot accept Fraenkel's interpretation of the scene (see Ed. Fraenkel, *Plautinisches im Plautus*. Philologische Untersuchungen von Kießling und Wilamowitz, Heft 28, Berlin, 1922, pp. 146—147) if the number of actors is limited. Fraenkel's interpretation requires nine supernumerary actors if all the *meretrices* are to be on the stage while Ballio is addressing the slaves. Considering the limited number of actors, this is not the case. At vs. 172 Ballio speaks into the house; the *meretrices* do not appear before they are called out in order, and only three untrained actors are required.

II. The Narrative substituted for important Scenes.

In the foregoing pages it has been shown that Plautus with great dexterity and care shifts actors by means of various kinds of unmotivated early exits and late entrances, so that one actor may perform more than one rôle. Sometimes, moreover, he decreases the number of actors required by reporting in a few lines a very important scene which is an essential part of the plot. In such scenes two characters otherwise not meeting, since they compose the rôle of one actor, would have to appear together. To avoid using an additional actor, Plautus omits the scene, but satisfies the requirements of the plot by a short narration of the off-stage action. A remarkable instance of this is found in the *Asinaria*, which is the only play showing no unmotivated early exit or late entrance. Again Plautus works with such care that the ordinary spectator, thus informed, does not stop to ask why a scene so important for the main thread of the play, has been omitted.

The action of the *Asinaria* centers about Demaenetus' efforts to procure the twenty minas which will enable his son Argyrippus to free his sweetheart Philaenium. Demaenetus (I, 1) gives his slave Libanus full power to contrive any plan whatsoever, by which Argyrippus may get the money that very day. Diabolus, the rival of Argyrippus (I, 2) is in despair, and very angry with the women, especially with Cleaereta (I, 3) for giving him absolutely no satisfaction, other than that he must present more money for Philaenium. While Libanus (II, 1) is endeavoring to form some plan to aid Argyrippus, Leonida (II, 2) rushes up suggesting that they try to swindle the *Mercator* out of the twenty minas he is bringing to Saurea for the asses. In spite of their endeavors to persuade him of the trustworthiness of pseudo-Saurea the *Mercator* steadfastly refuses to pay either of the slaves the money (II, 3, and 4) except in the presence of Demaenetus. At vs. 486 the pseudo-Saurea-Leonida sends Libanus to summon Demaenetus, while he again attempts to induce the *Mercator* to turn over the money to them. The scene ends without any statement of their departure, or their intention to continue negotiations. Cleaereta (III, 1) scolds Philaenium for so stubbornly holding to Argyrippus. In the following scene of exaltation (III, 2), the two slaves who have finally succeeded in duping the *Mercator*, discuss the events incidental to the trick. In five verses (vss. 580—584) Leonida relates its execution:

*Edepol senem Demaenetum lepidum fuisse nobis:
ut adsimulabat Sauream med esse quam facete!
nimis aegre risum contini, ubi hospitem inclamavit,
quod se(se) apse mihi fidem habere noluisset.
ut memoriter me Sauream vocabat atriensem!*

The elaboration of such an interesting scene, so sparingly described, is left to the imagination.

The slaves subject the lovers to merciless ridicule (III, 2) before turning the money over to Argyrippus. Acts IV and V are given over to Diabolus, rival of Argyrippus, his letters with their ludicrous demands, and his discovery of the banquet where Demaenetus, Argyrippus, and Philaenium are together. Artemona the wife of Demaenetus, is summoned, and breaks up the party by taking her delinquent husband home. It is clear from the title and the action of the play, that the climax scene would show the slaves fraudulently procuring the money from the merchant. Since Plautus has inserted the long scene (II, 4) between the two slaves and the *Mercator*, preparatory to such a climax, there seems no possible reason why he should neglect it, unless he was hampered by a limited troupe. On examining the rôles and the number of actors needed to execute them, we find that five actors can perform the play as it stands, Demaenetus and Leonida being played by one actor. If, however, the transaction were to take place on the stage, two actors would be needed for Demaenetus and Leonida, whereas otherwise one suffices. It seems plausible therefore to explain vss. 580—584 as an economic scheme, calculated to satisfy the demands of an audience, at the same time saving one actor, and enabling a smaller troupe to produce the play.

A similar situation is found in the *Aulularia* where the interest centers about the miser who loses his pot of gold, and about the marriage of his daughter. Euclio (I, 1) is very impatient with his faithful servant Staphyla, from sheer fear that she will discover his gold. Eunomia, his neighbor, persuades (II, 1) her brother Megadorus that he must marry, and he decides to ask for the hand of Euclio's daughter. When Staphyla hears (II, 3) of the proposed marriage contract (II, 2) she confides in the spectators, that the girl is already secretly engaged to Lyconides, Megadorus' nephew. Much time is given over to preparations for the wedding feast (II, 4—9 and III, 1) until Euclio returns from market (III, 2) exceedingly disturbed, and carries off his gold (III, 5) hoping to find some safer hidingplace for it. Meeting Megadorus, he hears about the many elaborate preparations of the overjoyed bridegroom. Euclio, distrusting him, refuses to take part in any celebration, and proceeds to hide his gold in a safe place. But Lyconides' slave has followed Euclio, in order to steal the gold immediately after his departure (IV, 1—6). Lyconides has by this time heard of the wedding and (IV, 7) convinces his mother that Phaedria

cannot be married to Megadorus. In IV, 7, vs. 694 they enter house together to explain the situation to Megadorus:

*i hac intro mecum, gnate mi, ad fratrem meum,
ut istuc quod me oras impetratum ab eo auferam.*

In IV, 9 Lyconides confesses the truth of the matter to Euclio; rather casually Lyconides says to Euclio (IV, 9, vs. 782):

eam (meaning Phaedria) *tu despondisti, opinor, meo avunculo.* Euclio replies (vs. 782):

omnem rem tenes.

In answer to this Lyconides responds (vs. 783):

is me nunc renuntiare repudium iussit tibi.

Euclio rather shocked and mortified answers (vs. 784):

*repudium rebus paratis, exornatis nuptiis?
ut illum di immortales omnes deaeque quantum est perduint,
quem propter hodie auri tantum perdiidi infelix, miser.*

Within a few minutes Euclio has again promised his daughter in marriage, this time to Lyconides. Act V is fragmentary; there is extant only Lyconides' refusal to allow his slave to keep Euclio's money.

It is strange that the engagement is broken in such a casual way, after much time and money have been spent by the enthusiastic Megadorus. Euclio cannot at first understand, exclaiming:

repudium rebus paratis, exornatis nuptiis?!

The nuptial preparations have been the theme of most of the play, and because of them (vs. 787) Euclio has lost his money. This makes the report (only vs. 783) of the conference between nephew and uncle so much more unsatisfactory. Taking into consideration the economy of actors, one realizes that if Plautus had included such a consultation in his play, he would have needed two actors for Megadorus and Lyconides. By omitting the scene he indicates his intention to economize and assign both parts to one actor.

One might also wonder why Megadorus himself does not come to break the engagement; strangely enough he drops out of the play after III, 6 while Lyconides must smoothe out his difficulty with the girl's father, and see that the slave returns the money. This requires Lyconides to be on the stage continuously. If a Megadorus-Euclio scene were shown, another actor would be necessary, which is probably the chief reason for not having the scene. This play then is unusual in twice showing so clearly the limitations imposed on Plautus by the lack of a large troupe.

Just as the turning points of the *Asinaria* and *Aulularia* are merely reported on the stage, so in the *Bacchides* the audience merely hears of the reconciliation between the fathers and sons, instead of seeing the whole scene. Probably only the

introductory matter of the comedy was lost through the destruction of part of the manuscript. The extant play begins (I, 1) with a scene between Pistoclerus and the Bacchides. Lydus, Pistoclerus' pedagogue, tries (I, 2) to save him from ruin. Chrysalus, the chief figure, returning from Ephesus, meets Pistoclerus (II, 2), a friend of his master Mnesilochus, who reports that Bacchis still loves Mnesilochus. Chrysalus tells Nicobolus (II, 3) a series of lies about their supposed difficulties in getting away from Ephesus with their money. Lydus (III, 1—2), concerned about Pistoclerus, informs the boys' father and holds up Mnesilochus as a model friend. He also infuriates Mnesilochus, who knows nothing of two Bacchides, by speaking of Pistoclerus' love for Bacchis. The quarrel between the boys (III, 5—6) is settled as soon as it is known that there are two girls. Since the parasite of the soldier (IV, 1—2) demands money for Bacchis if she is to be Pistoclerus', Chrysalus is instructed to procure money for the boys, since Mnesilochus (III, 6) had honestly transferred all the money to his father. Chrysalus writes two threatening letters (IV, 4 and IV, 9) by which he wins Nicobolus' sympathy. Consequently Nicobolus fears that the soldier has designs on his son, but this fear soon turns to anger when he learns from Philoxenus that he has been duped (V, 1). The two *senes* angrily resolve to bring their sons home from the Bacchides, but they too fall hopelessly in love with the women at first sight (V, 2). They are persuaded to forgive their sons and go into the house, where the audience is allowed to imagine a reconciliation taking place.

This is rather disappointing. Since the *senes* had been intensely angry with their sons, and later became (V, 2) equally eager to forgive them, one would expect to see all four men on the stage in a final reconciliation scene. Instead of this however, it is only announced as about to take place off stage (V, 2, vs. 1203 f.) Bacchis says:

it dies, ite intro accubitum,

fili vos exspectant intus.

Noteworthy is the fact that neither pair of fathers and sons, i. e. Philoxenus and Pistoclerus, and Nicobolus and Mnesilochus meets on the stage. Even though one might expect a meeting, each pair is carefully kept apart, but Mnesilochus (III, 6, vs. 530) states that he has met his father:

reddidi patri omne aurum

referring to the money that Chrysalus took such pains to prevent him from returning to his father. It is most likely that the need to economize prompted Plautus to report the reconciliation and to keep the two pairs apart. One actor¹ is then playing both father and son.²

The final scene of the *Cistellaria* is quite similar. Selenium, *meretrix*, dissatisfied with the life she is leading, speaks (I, 1) to Gymnasium, another *meretrix*, of her love for Alcesimarchus. The *Lena* (I, 2) and *Auxilium, prologus* (I, 3), give

the past history of Selenium who is Demipho's child by Phanostrata. Demipho and Phanostrata are now searching for the child which had been exposed at birth. Alcesimarchus (II, 2) complaining that his father is trying to make him marry another girl, while he loves Selenium, seeks help from his slave. The play here becomes fragmentary. When the manuscript begins again, Melaenis, Selenium's supposed mother, is quarrelling with Alcesimarchus who goes off in a rage. Repentant she follows him for fear that he, out of spite, will marry his rich fiancée. Lampadio who had exposed Selenium as a baby, and had been instructed to find the *anus* who had picked her up, can report no success (II, 2), but tells Phanostrata (II, 3) all he does know, while Melaenis is still on the stage unnoticed. Melaenis, realizing that the facts are known, goes home and confesses everything to Selenium.³ Alcesimarchus drags off Selenium (III, 1) and Melaenis follows. Act IV, 1, Lampadio and Phanostrata find the little casket containing the identifying trinkets, placed with the exposed child. When Halisca (IV, 2) searching for the lost casket meets Lampadio and Phanostrata, she assures them that the child has been found in the person of Selenium, and all enter the house to meet the long-lost girl. Act V is merely a short scene to send Demipho to his wife and daughter, and to tell the audience that he also has ended his long search. For the reader the ending is less effective than if the reunion of the parents and child had been included in the play itself. Yet, in following the suggestions given by the late entrances and early exits, we find that Selenium and Phanostrata are impersonated by one actor. Here again is evidence that Plautus was hampered by the limitation in the number of actors; he satisfies the spectators with a short account of offstage events, whereas a recognition scene would have been much more effective.

The *Stichus* several times shows the shortage of actors influencing the construction of a play. Act I, 1, Panegyris and Pamphila are grieved that their father Antipho wants them to re-marry and desert their long absent husbands, Epignomus and Pamphilippus. Antipho (I, 2) approaches them again on the same subject, incidentally stating that he himself was contemplating a second marriage. The young women, now more anxious, send Crocotium to get the parasite Gelasimus to go to the harbor in hopes of getting news of their husbands (I, 2). Shortly after her departure the parasite appears and complains of his hunger (I, 3) until Crocotium returns and delivers her summons. Curious as to what Panegyris may want, the parasite obeys the summons, meeting Pinacium on the way. They knock at Panegyris' door (II, 1) and are compelled to wait a long time (II, 2). In spite of his great hurry Pinacium takes his time in announcing the arrival of long absent Epignomus. Panegyris orders a banquet and coldly turns the disappointed parasite away (II, 2). Epignomus arrives with his slave Stichus (III, 1) and explains (vs. 415):

*et is (Antipho) hodie apud me cenat et frater meus;
nam heri ambo in uno portu fuimus, sed mea
hodie solutast navis aliquanto prius.*

Therefore one does not expect the two brothers to arrive together. Stichus is given a day off with his mistress and his friend Sangarinus. Epignomus does not escape the parasite (III, 2) but deliberately refuses to invite him. Gelasimus does not yet give up hope, but accosts Pamphilippus (IV, 2) who has in the meantime arrived and made peace with his father-in-law, for the long absence has been a financial success (IV, 1). Here the parasite meets with the third rebuff. Epignomus greets them (IV, 1) after he has seen his wife and learned that all is well at home (IV, 1, vs. 525):

*nam ita me apsente familiarem rem uxor curavit meam,
omnium me exilem atque inanem fecit aegritudinem,*

and Pamphilippus also goes into the house to meet his wife (IV, 1, vs. 534):

*deos salutatum atque uxorem modo intro devortor domum;
haec si ita ut volo conficio, continuo ad te transeo.*

Antipho a second time expresses his desire for a young mistress, but no more is made of this theme, even though the young men promise to fulfill his wish. Stichus and Sangarinus make plans (V, 2) and arrangements (IV, 4) for the banquet with their mistress Stephanium, who orders it (V, 3) and joins them (V, 5) in feasting and dancing (V, 6). The parasite is absent also from this banquet, which closes the play.

One wonders that the parasite does not hear of this last banquet, and try for the fourth time to satisfy his insatiable greed. But he cannot meet Stichus on the stage, for in the preceding study of the doubling of the rôles we found that one actor plays both parts.

Neither are the two married couples allowed to meet, for here again the rôles are doubled.⁴ Thus we can explain why, after the three years' separation, and consistent opposition to their father, the women do not greet their husbands; there is simply Epignomus' report of the meeting offstage (IV, 1, vs. 525):

*nam ita me apsente familiarem rem uxor curavit meam,
omnium me exilem atque inanem fecit aegritudinem.*

For the same reason Pamphila cannot greet Pamphilippus⁵ upon his arrival, but he must go into the house to her (IV, 1, vs. 534):

*deos salutatum atque uxorem modo intro devortor domum;
haec si ita ut volo conficio, continuo ad te transeo.*

Antipho has been the cause of great discomfort to his daughters, in that he disapproved of their faithfulness to their husbands whom he considered faithless. In the beginning of Act III, vs. 408,

*nam iam Antiphontem conveni adfinem meum
cumque eo reveni ex inimicitia in gratiam.*

Antipho has already been at the harbor and become reconciled with his son-in-law. This scene, which could have been developed to advantage, was also included in the offstage action, since the part of Antipho falls to the same actor who plays Stichus. Stichus is the connecting link between the first and second parts of the play, and cannot be so easily dispensed with as Antipho. Therefore Plautus, in saving actors, chose to report the meeting of Antipho and Epignomus, whom Stichus accompanies.

We find Plautus clearly showing that he uses the short report of offstage action as a substitute for a whole scene. He does this to adapt the play to a small troupe, and at the same time round out the plot. This becomes an important factor in determining the distribution of rôles among a few actors.

Notes.

¹ Prescott, *Harv. Stud.* 1910, p. 32 and Schmidt p. 9 suggest that there can be no reconciliation scene between Philoxenus and Pistoclerus on account of shortage of actors.

² Even though Mnesilochus and Nicobulus are taken by two actors, they cannot well be allowed to meet, if it is impossible for Pistoclerus and Philoxenus to do so.

³ This happens offstage. See vs. 631.

⁴ See Schmidt p. 9.

⁵ J. Engelen: *Die Schauspieler-Ökonomie in Shakespeares Dramen*, Shakespeare Jahrbuch vol. LXII, 1926, p. 82 suggests that in the *Midsummer-Night's Dream* the two couples Theseus-Hippolyta and Oberon-Titania were played by two actors, since both couples do not appear on the stage together, except at the very end. This shows a technique similar to that of Plautus, where husband and wife do not meet on the stage at all.

III. The Doubling of the Rôles.

Amphitruo.

Since the fourth act of the *Amphitruo* is in a fragmentary condition, and since we can neither attribute the speeches to the various characters with certainty, nor determine the number of scenes represented by the fragments, it is almost impossible to make a final assignment of the rôles to a certain number of actors. However, in the preceding discussion we have made it plausible that Plautus intended Blepharo and Bromia,¹ Amphitruo and the Pseudo-Amphitruo,² and Sosia and Pseudo-Sosia,³ to be assigned to one actor respectively. Throughout the play Amphitruo and Pseudo-Amphitruo never appear on the stage simultaneously except in IV, 3, where the one line spoken by Jupiter, unseen by Amphitruo, can be taken by a supernumerary actor. Similarly Sosia and Mercury-Sosia are assigned to one player. As they meet only in I, 1, Sosia is taken by the actor for Blepharo and Bromia, who is otherwise unemployed at this time.

This arrangement can, furthermore, be carried out without danger of confusing the audience. Plautus carefully informs the spectators of the distinguishing marks of the Pseudo-Sosia and the Pseudo-Amphitruo;⁴ in addition to this he arranges the entrances and exits so that the true Sosia and Amphitruo do not leave the stage at the same entrance from which their impersonators subsequently appear. And furthermore the particular character frequently identifies himself before the audience.⁵ The care with which Plautus works seems rather an indication that he intended the rôles to be doubled in such a way.

Alcumena, who meets neither Bromia, nor Sosia in the first scene, and probably not Blepharo in that part which is fragmentary, may possibly be assigned to the actor playing these three parts. The resulting arrangement of rôles then is most economical:

Actor I	Actor II	Actor III
Amphitruo	Mercury	Alcumena
Juppiter (except in IV, 3)	Sosia (except in I, 1)	Sosia (in I, 1)
		Blepharo
		Bromia

In the accompanying charts the dashes in the squares indicate the actors present in each scene. The heavy lines between the scenes show when the stage is left vacant. The early exits and late entrances are indicated by Arabic numerals

in the scenes; those in the lower right hand corner denote the number of lines between the early exit and the end of the scene, those in the upper left the number of lines between the opening of the scene and the late entrance. I use the scene-divisions of the Oxford text.

Amphitruo.

Act	Mercury	Sosia	Juppiter	Alcumena	Amphitruo	Blepharo	Bromia	Thessala
Prologue	—							
I 1	—	—						
2	—							
3	— /7		—	— /5				
II 1		—			—			
2		— /3		—	— /6			silent vs. 770
III 1			—					
2			—	—				
3		— /15	—	— /11				
4	—							
IV 1					—			
2	—		—	—	—	—		
3			only vs. 1039 — /14		—	— /15		
V 1					—		—	
2			not on — stage					
3					—			

IV, 2, consists of fragments, probably of more than one scene.

Asinaria.

In the last scene (V, 2) of the *Asinaria* there are five characters speaking: Demaenetus, Argyrippus, Philaenium, *Parasitus*, and Artemona, so that the play cannot be performed by less than five trained actors.⁶ As we have seen above,⁷

Asinaria.

Act	Libanus	Demaenetus	Argyrippus	Cleareta	Leonida	Mercator	Philaenium	Diabolus	Parasitus	Artemona
Prologue										
I 1	—	—								
2								—		
3				—	—			—		
II 1	—									
2	—				—					
3	—					—				
4	—				—	—				
III 1				—			—			
2	—				—					
3	—		—		—		—			
IV 1								—	—	
2								—	—	
V 1		inside —	inside —							
2		inside —	inside —				inside —		—	—

Following Havet, I assign I, 2, 3 to Diabolus, not to Argyrippus.

Plautus, in merely reporting the financial transaction, indicates a shortage of actors, and the necessity of assigning the rôles of Demaenetus and Leonida to one actor. Argyrippus could be combined with either the *Mercator*, or *Diabolus*. The former is to be preferred since there is ample time for changes of dress, while the latter appears in the two scenes (IV, 1 and 2) in which Argyrippus is offstage.⁸ Philaenium can be coupled with *Diabolus*, and *Parasitus* with *Libanus*, if we allow a short pause between III, 3, vs. 745 and IV, 1, vs. 746, where there is a vacant stage. The remaining two rôles, *Artemona* and *Cleareta*, are then allotted to the fifth actor.

Since there are no significant early exits or late arrivals in this play, the only clues to follow are the report of the fraudulent financial transaction, and the last scene which demands five actors. Accordingly we need not exceed this number in assigning the parts as follows:

Actor I	Actor II	Actor III	Actor IV	Actor V
Demaenetus	Argyrippus	Philaenium	Parasitus	Artemona
Leonida	Mercator	Diabolus	Libanus	Cleareta

Aulularia.

In the *Aulularia* there is no scene that requires more than three actors, yet three cannot produce this comedy because Euclio is on the stage so continuously that his becomes a solo rôle for a fourth actor. The play is however rich in information regarding the size of the troupe: the early exits show that one actor is expected to impersonate Anthrax, Staphyla⁹ and Eunomia,¹⁰ while the parts of Congrio and Megadorus¹¹ are executed by the actor for Lyconides,¹² for the conference of Megadorus and Lyconides is included in the offstage action. The remaining unassigned rôles of Strobilus, Pythodicus, and Lyconidis *servus* can be carried by one actor if there be a pause after II, 6, vs. 362.

There is a possibility, however, that no pause is necessary, if it can be shown that Plautus meant Strobilus and Pythodicus to be one person. Plautus may have found two different slaves in the Greek original. Since he shows distinctly that he feels the limitations of a small troupe of actors,¹³ it is not altogether impossible that Plautus decided to cut the original, and combine the two slave rôles into one.¹⁴ Plautus may have unintentionally left the name of the second slave on his sheets, or in later days, when there was no such dearth of actors, a manager may have inserted the name. However that may be, from the point of view of the economy of actors, it seems more reasonable to assign II, 6 and also II, 7 to one slave, thus eliminating a pause for change of costume, since both scenes are to be played by the same actor.¹⁵

Considering Plautus' technique we would be inclined to say that he thought of this as one rôle. In II, 6 Staphyla has been called out by Strobilus and Congrio, who wish to obtain permission to bring into the miser's house what Megadorus has sent. Upon Strobilus' command that she lead the cooks into the house, the scene closes with her *sequimini* (vs. 362). Congrio and the other cooks supposedly enter, but nothing is said about Strobilus' movements. He probably stays on the stage, (Plautus usually announces the departure of a person) and turns to the audience, as frequently happens, delivering the short monologue opening vs. 363:

Curate. ego intervisam quid faciant coqui.

Aulularia.

Act	Lar Familiaris	Eucio	Staphyla	Eunomia	Megadorus	Strobilus	Congrio	Anthrax	Lyconides	Lyconidis Servus	Phaedria	Tibicinae Elen- sium Phrugia	Pythodicus	cooks Machaerio Dromo
Prologue	—													
I 1		/12	—											
2		—	/16											
II 1				—	—									
2		—			5/ —	silent —/2								
3		—/5	—											
4						—	—	—				silent —		
5						—	—	/22				silent —		
6			1/ —			—	—					silent —		silent —
7													—	
8							19/ — within							
9								—						silent —
III 1							—							
2		— 5					—							
3		—					—							
4		—			13/ — silent									
5		—			—									
6		—			— 7									
IV 1										—				
2		—								—				
3		—								—				
4		—								—				
5		—								—				
6		—/5								—				
7				—/5					—		Behind — scenes			
8										—				
9		—							19/ —					
10		—/5							—					
V 1									—	—				
Fragments														

Vacant stage between III, 2 and III, 3 and III, 4 is possible depending on the actor playing the rôle.

This is in keeping with the other duties of Strobilus, and would be a more natural explanation of the lines, than the introduction of a new character who nowhere else figures in the play. We suggest therefore that II, 7 be assigned to Strobilus, in conformity with the following distribution of parts:

Actor I	Actor II	Actor III	Actor IV
Euclio	Staphyla	Megadorus	Lyconidis Servus
	Eunomia	Lyconides	Strobilus
	Anthrax	Congrio	

Bacchides.

The *Bacchides* shows one early exit to facilitate the change from Nicobulus to Lydus.¹⁶ The same actor, by this arrangement unoccupied between III, 3 and IV, 6, can also take the rôle of the parasite who appears only in IV, 1 and 2. By omitting the reconciliation scene Plautus indicates that he intended one man to function as Pistoclerus and Philoxenus.¹⁷ The other rôles now offer no difficulties for combination: the actor for Bacchis I, appearing only in Acts I and V, can be Chrysalus in Acts II and IV; the parallel rôle of Bacchis II then allows the last actor to be used for Mnesilochus in Act III and IV, 3 and 4, and for Cleomachus in IV, 8. By two means then in this play Plautus has hinted at the most economical division of lines:

Actor I	Actor II	Actor III	Actor IV
Bacchis I	Nicobulus	Bacchis II	Philoxenus
Chrysalus	Lydus	Mnesilochus	Pistoclerus
	Parasitus	Cleomachus	

This play offers clear evidence that the Roman actors were not trained to play merely a single type of character.¹⁸ Here the only two women never appear except when together, so that if there is any doubling of rôles, theirs must be given to actors playing male parts. Similarly the *iuvenes* as well as the *senes* play together, so that it becomes impossible for one man to take the parts of the old men and another those of the young men. Plautus seems to have no preference as to what types of characters he apportions to the players, as long as he can shift them to the best advantage in decreasing the number of actors needed.

(See chart on page 58.)

Captivi.

Tyndarus and Ergasilus in the *Captivi* gave Plautus the most difficulty in suiting the play to a small company.¹⁹ On three occasions²⁰ he has the one of this pair leave early so that the actor may change his garb and soon appear as the

Bacchides.

Act	Pistoclerus	Bacchis I	Bacchis II	Lydus	Chrysalus	Nicobulus	Mnesilochus	Philoxenus	Parasitus	Puer	Lorarius Artamo	Cleomachus
Fragments												
I 1	5/	—	—									
2	—	8/		—								
II 1					—							
2	—	6/			—							
3					—	—	19/					
III 1				—								
2							—					
3				—			—	—				
4												
5	—											
6	—						—					
IV 1									—			
2	—								—	6/		
3	—						—					
4	—				—		—					
5					—							
6					—	—	4/					
7					—						silent	
8					—	12/	—					—
9					—							20
10					—	—	9/					
11								—				
V I						—		—				
2		—	—			—		—				

Captivi.

Act	Ergasius	Hegio	Lorarius	Philocrates	Tyndarus	Aristophontes	Puer	Philopolemus	Stalagmus
Prologue				—	—				
I 1	—								
2	— /3	—	— /71						
II 1			more than one /36	0/ —	0/ —				
2		—		—	—				
3		—		— /9	— /9				
III 1	—								
2		—			silent —				
3					—				
4		—	3 lorarii — silent		—	9/ —			
5		— /2	lorarii — silent		— /17	—			
IV 1	—								
2	—	—							
3	—								
4							—		
V 1		—		—				— 29/ — silent	
2		—						—	
3		—		—				—	
4		—		—	—			silent except in — last verse	

other; the evidence thus adduced about two rôles cannot be overlooked. The same actor can also be Philopolemus, seen only in V, 1. Hegio is on the stage so frequently, meeting almost all the other persons, that his becomes a solo rôle. There is no difficulty in permitting the third actor to be Philocrates in Acts II and V, and

Aristophontes in III, 4 and 5. The fourth actor takes the remaining parts: the *puer* in IV, 4, *Lorarius* in I, 2 and II, 1, and *Stalagmus*²¹ in V, 1—4. Following Plautus' advice to combine *Ergasilus* and *Tyndarus*, we consider the most advantageous arrangement as follows:

Actor I	Actor II	Actor III	Actor IV
Ergasilus	Hegio	Lorarius	Philocrates
Tyndarus		Puer	Aristophontes
Philopolemus		Stalagmus	

Casina.

The last scenes of the *Casina* make unusually great demands upon the troupe, and at first glance it might seem that Plautus had a sixth actor at his disposal, which would be exceptional. Act IV, 4 calls for Olympio, Pardalisca, Lysidamus, Cleustrata, and Chalinus, yet of these five, two have very little to say. Cleustrata has only two words, in vs. 834, as she departs, twenty verses before the ending of the act, and though the following scenes require her presence, she again speaks very little. Chalinus in IV, 4 utters only one sentence (the first verse of the scene), thereafter no notice is taken of him until V, 3. The last scene (V, 4) also requires five actors, Olympio, Chalinus, Cleustrata, Myrrhina, Lysidamus, all participating in the dialogue, although Myrrhina and Olympio say very little. Since these two scenes each require five actors, the *Casina* as preserved to us requires six actors:

Actor I	Actor II	Actor III	Actor IV	Actor V	Actor VI
Olympio	Lysidamus	Chalinus	Cleustrata	Pardalisca	Myrrhina
		Chytrio			Alcesimus

This calls for practically no doubling of rôles, since Chytrio speaks only part of one verse, (III, 6, vs. 720 and 724) while Alcesimus appears in only three scenes (Act III, 1, 2, and 4). For Plautus this is unusual, in fact it seems rather unplautine. In contrast with this is the unmotivated late arrival of Chalinus in Act V, 3, which is a device we have otherwise accepted as evidence for doubling of rôles,²² and would ordinarily indicate that Chalinus with Pardalisca constituted one actor's share. It is only in IV, 4 that Chalinus and Pardalisca are playing together, and there the former has only the opening line. If this verse were to be given to an untrained substitute, there would only be five actors needed, provided there were a pause between I, 1 and II, 1. Thus:

Actor I	Actor II	Actor III	Actor IV	Actor V
Olympio	Chalinus	Cleustrata	Myrrhina	Lysidamus
	Pardalisca	Chytrio	Alcesimus	

Since we have the play as it was staged after Plautus' first performance,²³ a generation later perhaps, there is a possibility that the final acts were elaborated for a troupe of six players, whereas Plautus managed with five, or possibly four.

Casina.

Act	Olympio	Chalinus	Cleustrata	Pardalisca	Myrrhina	Lysidamus	Alcesimus	Chytrio	Tibicen
Prologue									
I 1	— /2	—							
II 1			—	—					
2			—		—				
3			— /4			—			
4		— .6				—			
5	—					—			
6	—	—	— /2			—			
7		—							
8	—	—				— /11			
III 1						—	—		
2			—				—		
3			—			—			
4						—	— /5		
5				—		—			
6	—					—		1 verse — vss. 720 and 723	
IV 1				—					
2				— /5		—			
3	—					—			silent — vs. 798
4	—	only 1st verse of scene — vs. 814	2 words — vs. 834 / 20	— /32		—			
V 1			—	—	—				
2	—		4 words at — vs. 892	—	—				
3		21/ —				—			
4	30/ —	—	6/ —		6/ —	—			

scene fragmentary
at vss. 983—989

Cistellaria.

Act	Selenium	Gymnasium	Lena Syrä	Euxilium	Alcesimarchus	Servus Thyniscus	Senex Father of Alcesimarchus	Lampadio	Melaenis	Phanostrata	Halsca	Demipho Husband of Phanostrata
I 1	— 3	—	—									
2			—									
(Prologue) 3				—								
II fragmentary	1a				—							
	b				—	—						
	c		—		—	—						
	d		—				—					
	e		—									
	f	—			—				—			
	g				— 8				—			
II 2 h								—				
II 3 k								— 13		— 125		
III 1	— 2				8/ — 3				—		silent see vs. 637	
IV 1								—		5/ —		
2								—		—		
V 1								—				—

Cistellaria.

The greater part of the *Cistellaria* Act II is in such a fragmentary condition that one cannot make a definitive grouping of rôles. As in other plays, the parts that are in good condition show to some extent how Plautus meant the actors to take the lines. Twice²⁴ there are indications that Phanostrata and Selenium are meant to be one man's portion, and Alcesimarchus and Lampadio²⁵ part of another's. After providing two actors for these four *personae*, we find that the

others either combine with these, or call for a third actor. The first actor seems to be at leisure during the early part of Act II so that he can take both Thyniscus in II, B and C, and the *senex*, father of Alcesimarchus, in I, 4. The second actor may be able to take Syra, who does not come before the audience with either Alcesimarchus or Lampadio, but does have II, E, just before the entrance of Alcesimarchus. The remaining characters, Gymnasium I, 1 and II, C—E, Melaenis II, F, G, K, and III, 1, Halisca IV, 2, and Demipho,²⁶ *senex*, husband of Phanostrata V, 1, may constitute the duty of the third actor. Since the last scene (V, 1) leaves one dissatisfied²⁷ we feel justified in believing that Plautus had very few actors, and suggest the following grouping:

Actor I	Actor II	Actor III
Selenium	Syra	Gymnasium
Thyniscus	Alcesimarchus	Melaenis
Senex	Lampadio	Halisca
Phanostrata		Demipho

Curculio.

From the reference to *basilica*²⁸ in the speech of the *choragus*, probably a later insertion, we learn that the *Curculio* was changed somewhat at the time when it was revived, about a generation after Plautus.²⁹ The insertion of this character, the *choragus*, does not, however, affect the size of the troupe, for one actor playing Palinurus (Acts I and II) and the soldier Therapontigonus (IV, 3—V, 3) can have ample time to appear between these two parts as the *choragus* IV, 1. The early exit of Leaena (I, 3, vs. 158)³⁰ is a rather certain indication that this rôle also was executed by the actor impersonating Cappadox. These characters then occupy most of the time of two of the five actors needed in the last scenes, while the others are not nearly so busy. Yet there is no possibility of a more even distribution of parts, if they are to be taken by the smallest possible company. Act V, 2 shows four: Planesium, Phaedomus, Curculio, and Therapontigonus all sharing in an animated dialogue. Curculio presumably departs at V, 2 vs. 678, while in the next scene V, 3 vs. 679 Cappadox joins the trio remaining. There is no possibility of having the actor shift from Curculio to Cappadox, and limit the troupe to four, since Cappadox has already been announced in vs. 678, and has previously (III, 1) been on the stage with Curculio. Since Curculio conflicts not only with the four others in these two scenes, but with all the other minor persons, his becomes a solo rôle. The two very short parts of Planesium and the *cocus* require one man, and the fifth must play Phaedomus and Lyco.

The combination of the rôles of Phaedomus (in Act I and II) with that of Lyco (Act III, 1, and IV, 2 and 3) as the function of one actor demands a pause to permit

Curculio.

Act	Palinurus	Phaedromus	Leaena	Planesium	Cappadox	Cocus	Curculio	Lyc0	Choragus	Miles Therapontigonos
I 1	—	—								
2	—	—	— /19							
3	—	—	— /54	— /2						
II 1	—				—					
2	—	25 /			— /6	— /6				
3	—	—					—			
III 1					85 /		—	—		
IV 1									—	
2				silent — addressed vs. 487	—		— /8	— /6		
3								— /2		—
4					4 /	— /2				—
V 1							—			
2		—		—			—			11 /
3		—		only — vss. 697—698	—					

The stage is vacant between IV, 4 and V, 1. Theropontigonos goes off at the end of IV, 4 at vs. 610 (V, 2) he becomes aware of the others, indicating that he has been away.

a change of dress. In II, 3 Curculio and Phaedromus decide to enter the house (vs. 365):

eamus nunc intro ut tabellas consignemus,

which they do as the scene closes (vs. 370):

Curculio: *sequere me hac intro.* Phaedromus: *sequor.*

The stage remains vacant, and the audience, left to imagine the proceedings within, is well prepared for a pause. There seems little objection, therefore, to letting the audience wait until the Phaedromus can become Lyc0, and open the new act, in

company with Curculio. The resulting grouping for the *Curculio* as we have the play is:

Actor I	Actor II	Actor III	Actor IV	Actor V
Palinurus	Phaedromus	Leaena	Planesium	Curculio
Therapontigonus	Lyc0	Cappadox	Cocus	
Choragus				

There is the possibility, nevertheless, that Plautus may have required fewer actors if changes, other than the insertion of the *choragus*, have been made in the text by later producers.

Epidicus.

Act	Epidicus	Servus Thesprio	Stratippoclea	Chaeribulus	Periphanes	Apocides	Fidicina	Miles	Philippa	Acropolistis	Danista	Virgo Telestis	Canthara	Servant
I 1	—	— /23												
2	—		— /8	— /8										
II 1					—	—								
2	—				—	—								
3	—													
III 1			—	—										
2	— /4		—	—										
3	2 words — at vs. 400				14/ — /12	silent — see vs. 399								
4					—		—							
4 a							— /9	— /33						
IV 1					—			— /2	— /11				silent — vs. 567	
2					—									
V 1	—	see vs. 660 — silent	— /6							15/ —	15/ —			
2	9/ —				—	—						6 /6		

Epidicus.

Plautus shows more frequently in the *Epidicus* than in any other play just how he proposed the twelve characters to be executed by four actors. The early exits indicate that the groups Stratippocles and Periphanes,³¹ Acropolistis and the *Danista*,³² the Miles and Philippa and Telestis,³³ respectively form the share of one actor. The remaining major rôle of Epidicus must then belong to the fourth actor, who in his leisure time, between III, 2 and V, 2, can also act the *Fidicina*, mute in III, 3 and speaking only in III, 4 a. Thesprio in III, 3 speaks only two words at vs. 400, so that in this scene, as well as in V, 1 where he is addressed in vs. 660, a supernumerary can be used instead of a trained actor. This leaves only Thesprio in I, 1 for a trained actor, who is enabled, by the early departure, twenty lines before the scene ends, to appear as Stratippocles in I, 2. The third actor has the greatest variety. Because of the early exits, we have already apportioned to him the *Miles*, Philippa, and Telestis. Besides that he has time free for Chaeribulus in the opening acts. The remaining character Apocides (II, 1 and 2 and III, 3), easily combines with Acropolistis and the *Danista*. Four actors without difficulty carry the whole action, if it is divided thus:

Actor I	Actor II	Actor III	Actor IV
Epidicus	Thesprio (in I, 1)	Miles	Apocides
Fidicina	Stratippocles	Telestis	Danista
	Periphanes	Philippa	Acropolistis
		Chaeribulus	

Menaechmi.

In the *Amphitruo* Sosia and Mercury-Sosia are almost identical in appearance, so that one actor need wear only one costume when he plays both rôles. Only in the one scene, where both appear together,³⁴ must another actor give Sosia. The same holds true for *Amphitruo* and *Juppiter-Amphitruo*. Similarly in the *Menaechmi* one actor impersonates both Menaechmi except in the final recognition scene. The two Menaechmi, who for plot purposes must be absolutely identical, can easily be assigned to the same actor,³⁵ except in V, 9 where Menaechmus II is taken by Erotium's player. This second actor can also be the *Senex* in V, 2—7. The third actor is probably the *Ancilla* (III, 3) and *Matrona*³⁶ (IV, 1—V, 2) as well as the *Medicus* later (V, 4), and *Cylindrus* earlier (I, 4—II, 2). This leaves only Messenio (Act II) and *Peniculus* (Act I, III, and IV) for the fourth actor. In this way four actors cover all the rôles:

Actor I³⁷

Menaechmus I

Menaechmus II

(except in V, 9)

Actor II

Menaechmus II

(in V, 9)

Erotium

Senex

Actor III

Cylindrus

Ancilla

Matrona

Medicus

Actor IV

Messenio

Peniculus

Menaechmi.

Act	Peniculus	Menaechmus I	Menaechmus II	Erotium	Cylindrus	Messenio	Ancilla	Matrona	Senex	Medicus	Servi
Prologue											
I 1	—										
2	—	—									
3	— /1	— /3		—							
4				—	—						
II 1			—			—					
2			—		— /18	—					
3			—	— /13		—					
III 1	—										
2	— /2		—								
3			—				— /11				
IV 1	—							—			
2	— /7	—						— /10			
3		—		— /5							
V 1			—					3/ —			
2			—					— /23	—		
3			—					6/			
4			— /7						—		
5		—							— /2	— /8	
6						—					
7		—				— /11			—		silent
8			—			—					
9		—	3/ —			—					

There is a vacant stage within Act V, sc. 3, vs. 881.

Mercator.

The early unmotivated exits of the *Mercator* are unusually helpful, especially since on one occasion a mute must be substituted for one of the trained actors in question. The *Cocus* and *Syra* are arranged for one actor,³⁸ yet in IV, 4 both are on the stage. In this scene *Syra* speaks only one word, so that any untrained substitute may take the rôle during the time that the cook is on the stage. The cook leaves twenty-one verses before the scene ends, allowing ample time for change of garb and appearance as *Syra* in the following scenes. The same player can also function as *Acanthio* and *Demipho* in the early scenes of the play. *Acanthio* speaks only in I, 2, but appears also in II, 2 making only a two-word answer (vs. 282): *numquid amplius* to *Lysimachus*' command. If a pause be made between I, 2 and II, 1 for convenience of the actor of both *Demipho* and *Acanthio*, there is no reason why he could not successfully present both, and have an untrained actor play *Acanthio* in II, 2. The early departure of *Lysimachus* (II, 2) indicates a doubling with *Charinus* (II, 3)³⁹ if a pause exist between III, 3 (*Lysimachus*) and III, 4 (*Charinus*). There remain only *Eutychus* (II, 4, III, 4, IV, 5, V, 2 and 4), *Pasicompsa* (III, 1) and *Dorippa*⁴⁰ (IV, 1, IV, 3, and 4) for the third actor, provided there is a pause between II, 4 and III, 1, and between III, 4 and IV, 1. At all these scene endings the stage is vacant, with no one announced as approaching from the distance, so that as far as the text is concerned there may be a pause in each instance for change of garb, thus making it possible to produce the play with three actors:

Actor I	Actor II	Actor III
Charinus	Acanthio	Eutychus
Lysimachus	Demipho	Pasicompsa
	Cocus	Dorippa
	Syra	

However, the pauses are less artificial if four actors are used as follows:

Actor I	Actor II	Actor III	Actor IV
Charinus	Lysimachus	Demipho	Eutychus
Syra	Acanthio	Dorippa	Pasicompsa
			Cocus

Miles Gloriosus.

The *Miles Gloriosus* makes great demands on the performing troupe since it is long, and has thirteen speaking characters who several times meet in scenes requiring four actors each. *Palaestrio* is on the stage almost continuously up to IV, 9, so that only *Cario*, V, 1, can be taken by the same actor. The late arrival of

Mercator.

Act	Charinus	Servus Acanthio	Demipho	Lysimachus	Lorarius	Eutychus	Pasicompsa	Dorippa	Syra	Cocus
I 1	—									
2	—	—								
II 1			—							
2			—	— /7	2 words — at vs. 282					
3	—		—							
4	—					5/ —				
III 1				—			—			
2			—							
3				—						
4	— /6					15/ —				
IV 1								— /4	— /1	
2				—						
3				—				—		
4				—				—	1 word vs. 788 /14	— /21
5						2/ —			—	
6									—	
V 1	—									
2	—					—				
3			—	—						
4			—	—		—				

Philocomasium (IV, 8) and the early exit of Acroteleutium (IV, 6) suggest that these two were probably the assignment of one actor,⁴¹ who, in addition, takes the *Puer* in IV, 9.⁴² Plautus likewise hints that he gave Sceledrus and Pleusicles⁴³ to the man playing also Artotrogus (I, 1). Since Pyrgopolynices encounters almost all other persons in the latter part of the play, his actor can be used only for Lurcio (III, 2). The fifth actor has a comparatively light task in the recitation of Periplectomenus' and Milphidippa's lines. This is all the more striking when we find Milphidippa silent in III, 3, when she plays with Periplectomenus; a mute actor again is substituting for the actor at the time playing Periplectomenus. We find that five actors suffice for the presentation of the *Miles*:

Actor I	Actor II	Actor III	Actor IV	Actor V
Palaestrio	Philocomasium	Sceledrus	Pyrgopolynices	Periplectomenus
Cario	Acroteleutium	Pleusicles	Lurcio	Milphidippa
	Puer	Artotrogus		

Mostellaria.

Plautus in the *Mostellaria* has distributed the rôles among four actors. Scapha and Callidamates are the share of one man,⁴⁴ Philolaches and Theopropides of another,⁴⁵ Delphium and the *Puer*⁴⁶ of a third, and Philematium and Tranio⁴⁷ of a fourth, thus constituting the framework around which we may group the others. No other rôle is given to the man playing Philematium and Tranio. Grumio (I, 1) and *Phaniscus* (IV, 1, IV, 2 a and b, III, 3) supplement the assignment of the actor for Scapha and Callidamates. Since there is no leisure for the actor playing Philolaches (I, 2—II, 1) and Theopropides (II, 2—V, 2), the remaining parts of Delphium (I, 4 and II, 1), *Puer* (II, 1), Pinacium (IV, 2 a and b, III, 3) and Simo (III, 2 and IV, 3), and *Danista* (III, 1) compose the varied duties of the fourth actor:

The first act closes with the banquet still going on. Philematium speaks the last lines of the scene I, 4, and remains suspiciously silent in the ensuing act (II, 1). It is very likely that she leaves the banquet, while the others engage the interest of the spectators. Meanwhile the skilled actor of Philematium changes his costume and appears in Act II, 1 as Tranio, and a mute substitutes as Philematium. This can be done without loss of the spectators' attention, and with valuable economy of actors.

The last actor is kept very busy. Delphium in II, 1 can run off at vs. 374, leaving ample time for appearance as the *Puer* at vs. 420 of the same scene. The actor again has thirty-five lines between his departure as *Danista* and entrance as Simo. As Pinacium he has very little to say; indeed his constant change of costumes seems his hardest work.

Miles Gloriosus.

Act	Pyrgopolynices	Artotrogus	Paestrio	Periplectomenus	Plesicles	Lurcio	Acrotaleutium	Milphidippa	Puer	Cario	Satellites	Sceledrus	Philocomasium	Lorarii
I 1	—	—									silent —			
II 1			—											
2			—	— /12										
3			—	/9								—		
4			—									—	— /14	
5			—									—	—	
6					—							— /10	see vs. 528 — silent	
III 1			—	15/ — /8	15/ —									
2			—		5/ — /7									
3			—	—		—	silent — see vs. 814							
IV 1	—		—											
2	—		—					— /2						
3	— /7		—											
4			—		—	— /2	silent after — the 6th verse (1142)							
5	—		—											
6	—		—			— /3		/3						
7	—		— /6		—								26/ announced last verse of scene	
8	—		— /4		— /24								— /24	
9	—								—					—
V 1	—			—						—		13/ —		silent see vs. 1395

Actor I	Actor II	Actor III	Actor IV
Tranio	Scapha	Theopropides	Delphium
Philematium	Callidamates	Philolaches	Danista
	Phaniscus		Simo
	Grumio		Puer
			Pinacium

Mostellaria.

Act	Tranio	Grumio	Philolaches	Philematium	Scapha	Callidamates	Delphium	Theopropides	Danista	Misargyrides	Simo	Phaniscus	Pinacium	Sphaerio	Lorarii	Puer
I 1	— /8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
3	—	—	—	—	— /21	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
II 1	—	— /23	— /31	silent	—	—	only vss. 373—374 /3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	vss. 420—422 /9
2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	— /3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
III 1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	— /35	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	— /4	—	—	—	—	—	—
IV 1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
2 a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
III 3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	stands aside silent	stands aside silent	—	—	—
IV 2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	speaks only vs. 988	—	—	—
3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
V 1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Persa.

The *Persa* shows peculiarities of construction which suggest that the play as we have it to-day is different from the one staged under Plautus' direction. There is a late appearance of Saturio in IV, 7, which would permit the actor for Sagaristio to take his rôle also.⁴⁸ Toxilus' is a solo rôle, which conflicts with all others. Dordalus and Sophoclidisca can easily be assigned to a third actor. Thus all the important rôles are cared for. It is not until the last scene that the minor characters Lemniselenis, *Virgo*, and Paegnium bring difficulties. These three speak very little and would ordinarily not overtax one man: Lemniselenis is silent in II, 1 and speaks only in V, 1 and 2, the *Virgo* has only one line in IV, 7 and 9 each, otherwise appearing in only three scenes. It is Paegnium in the last scenes, V, 1 and 2, who prevents the actor from taking all three of these, as Paegnium in II, 2 and 4 seems designated to fall in with the other two. This means that Plautus, if he left the play as it is, required an extra actor for this short rôle, which appears out of keeping with the economy usually practiced by him, and points rather to a later elaboration of the last scene. As the play stands an even division is as follows:

Actor I	Actor II	Actor III	Actor IV	Actor V
Toxilus	Sagaristio	Dordalus	Saturio ⁴⁹	Lemniselenis
		Sophoclidisca	Paegnium	Virgo

It is possible, however, that Plautus meant to arrange as follows:

Actor I	Actor II	Actor III	Actor IV
Toxilus	Sagaristio	Dordalus	Lemniselenis
	Saturio ⁴⁹	Sophoclidisca	Paegnium
			Virgo

See chart page 74.

Poenulus.

As in the *Persa*, so in the *Poenulus* which we definitely know was revived years after its first performance, when the hatred of the Carthaginians had become less intense, there are indications that larger troupes were available at the later date. In both cases it is at the end that the later managers felt the need of introducing more characters. However, the Plautine indications, the unmotivated early exit and late entrance, remain to show what, except for the last scenes, is a very good arrangement in doubling of rôles. Agorastocles, continuously on the stage, leaves his actor no free time for other lines. Milphio and Antamoenides can be played by the same man, since the late entrance of Antamoenides (II, 1 vs. 470), after the entertaining monologue of Lycus, makes that fairly easy. The actor⁵⁰ for Syncerastus and Hanno can be used for Collybiscus,⁵¹ and also for the *Ancilla* in I, 3. Anterastilis and Adelphasium are always together, yet Adelphasium speaks more in V, 5, so that we prefer to combine her with the spokesman of the *Advocati* (III, 1—6).

Persa.

Act	Toxilus	Sagaristio	Saturio	Sophoclidisca	Lemaiselenis	Paegnium	Virgo	Dordalus
I 1	—	—						
2			—					
3	—		—	/3				
II 1				—	silent			
2	—	/51		—		—		
3		—						
4		—				—	/4	
5	—	—		—	/23			
III 1			—				—	
2								—
3	—							—
IV 1	—							
2	—	—						
3	—							—
4	—	—					—	—
5	—	—					—	/6
6	—	—						—
7	—		14/	—			only vs. 724	—
8	—						2 words	—
9			—				only vs. 741	—
V 1	—	—			12/	—	silent	
2	—	—			—	vss. 770 and 772		13/
					29/	—		—

We are departing from Lindsay's text, assigning IV, 7, vss. 729 and 730 to Saturio instead of to Sagaristio.

Poenulus.

Act	Agorastocles	Milphio	Adelphastium	Anterastilis	Lycus	Miles Antimachonides	Advocati	Collybiscus	Syncerastus	Hanno	Giddenis	Puer	Ancilla
Prologue													
I 1	—	—											
2	—	—	—	—									only vs. 332
3	—	—	/4										
II 1					—	23/ —							
III 1	—						12/ —						
2	—	sil. after — 604 /9					—	—					
3					—		—	—					
4	—				—	/25	—	/25					
5	—				—	/9	—						
6	—	/8					—	/11					
IV 1		—											
2		—						—	/13				
V 1										—			
2	—	—								—			
3	—	—	/19							—	Last, at one word — vs. 1142 /19 vs. 1141 /19		
4	—									—			
5	—		only vss. — 1292-3	silent after — vs. 1329						—			
6	—		silent —	silent —	—	—				—			
7	—		vs. 1405 — only	vs. 1406 — only	—	—				—			

Act V, 3, vss. 1169–1173 are bracketed by Ussing. C. C. Coulter, *Retractatio in Plautus* p. 581. sees two endings to the scene. We consider the scene as ending with vs. 1168.
The first ending of the play comes after V, 6, vs. 1371.

Anterastilis is then to be ordered with Giddenis⁵² and Lycus. At first it may seem impossible to do this, as Anterastilis and Lycus are on the stage at the same time (V, 7): however in V, 4 vs. 1268, Anterastilis, if she is the speaker may depart eleven verses before the scene ends. In V, 5 she is back again, speaking only seven words (vs. 1294). At this point it would be very easy to send in for these words a substitute, who remains mute for the rest of the play, while Adelphasium continues the dialogue in V, 5 and becomes silent in V, 6. There is then no difficulty about the trained actor for Anterastilis being also the Lycus.

The same arrangement holds for both endings, since each girl speaks only one verse in the second ending.

Actor I	Actor II	Actor III	Actor IV	Actor V
Agorastocles	Milphio	Anterastilis	Advocati	Collybiscus
	Antamoenides	Lycus	Adelphasium	Ancilla
		Giddenis		Syncerastus
				Hanno

Pseudolus.

The *Pseudolus* needs only four actors, three of whom do not have very heavy portions. Pseudolus himself is the chief character, and alone demands an actor. The early exit of the *Puer* (III, 1 and 2⁵³) indicates coupling with Simia (IV, 1—4) and since Simia appears as Harpax (II, 2) the true Harpax is taken by the same actor. This actor is free in II, 4, which enables him to be Charinus at that time. The third actor assumes the parts of Ballio (Act I, 2 and 3, and in III and IV) and Callipho (I, 5), while the fourth is Calidorus (I, 1—3 and II, 4), Simo (I, 5) and the *Cocus* (III, 2). There is the possibility of interchanging the *Cocus* and the *Puer*; as grouped here, the *Puer* leaves thirteen verses early to change to Simia. If the rôles were interchanged Calidorus would need the eight verse early exit and the intervening scene to become the *Puer*, while the late arrival (ten verses) of Simia would allow for the change from the *Cocus*.

There seems no difficulty in assigning the rôles:

Actor I	Actor II	Actor III	Actor IV
Pseudolus	Calidorus	Ballio	Harpax
	Simo	Callipho	Simia
	Cocus		Charinus
			Puer

Rudens.

The *Rudens* with its twelve scattered rôles cannot be produced by a troupe of less than five. As shown above,⁵⁴ Plautus intended Plesidippus and Palaestra to make up the allotment of one actor. It is because of this that Palaestra is silent in

Pseudolus.

Act	Pseudolus	Calidorus	Ballio	Simo	Callipho	Harpax	Charinus	Lorarii	Hedylum Aeschrodora Xytilis Phoenicium Meretrices	Puer	Cocus	Simia	Phoenicium
Prologue													
I 1	—	—											
2	—	—	—					4 lorarii — 3 words vs. 159	—	silent			
3	—	—	— ₁₃										
4	—												
5	—			— ₁₂	— ₁₃								
II 1	—												
2	—					—							
3	—												
4	—	— ₈					—						
III 1										—			
2			—							2 vss. only — ₁₃	—		
IV 1	—											10/ as Harpax —	
2	—		—									as Harpax —	
3	—												
4	—											as Harpax —	silent —
5			—										
6			—	—									
7			—	—		— ₁							
8				—									
V 1	—												
2	—			—									

After I, 5 there is a vacant stage required by the text, vs. 573a: Tibicen vos interibi hic delectaverit.

III, 6 when she appears before the audience simultaneously with Plesidippus. For a similar reason, Ampelisca elsewhere played by the actor for Labrax⁵⁵ must remain silent. The two women have been shipwrecked and are seeking protection

Rudens.

Act	Arcturus	Sceparnio	Plesidippus	Daemones	Palaestra	Ampelisca	Ptolema- cratia	Piscatores	Trachalio	Labrax	Charmides	Lorarii	Gripus	Uxor
Prologue	—													
I 1		—												
2		—	25	11/										
3					—									
4					—	—								
5					—	—	—							
II 1														
2								/7	—					
3						—			—	/10				
4						—								
5		—												
6										—	—			
7		/1								—	—			
III 1				—										
2				/3					—					
3					silent after — vs. 701	silent after — vs. 691			—			vs. 764		
4				—	silent	silent			—	—		lorarii		
5				—	silent	silent				—		2 lorarii		
6			—		silent	silent			off vs. 860	29/	—	vss. 880—882		
		/25			—	—			/33	/6	on vs. 867	2 lorarii		
IV 1				—										
2													—	
3									—				—	
4				—	—	—			—				—	
5				9	vss. 1703-4 within house	/7	/7		/12					within house vs. 1203-4
6				—					5/	—				
7				—									—	
8			—						—				/7	
V 1										—				
2										—			—	
3				—						—			—	

against Labrax at the temple of Venus. In III, 3 Trachalio tries to comfort them, assuring them they will be protected if they sit beside the altar, and bids them to go over to it, announcing almost immediately (III, 3, vs. 705) the appearance of Daemones at the temple door (III, 4, vs. 706). Daemones again says (vs. 707): *vos in aram abile sessum*. He looks around, the women have disappeared and he asks astonished (vs. 707): *sed ubi sunt?* and Trachalio answers: *huc respice*. The women are then sought, probably two substitutes are brought to the altar, for they are there by vs. 723:

Labrax: *mihi non liceat meas ancillas Veneris de ara abducere?*

In the following scenes they are at times referred to as being seated there, but they do not utter a word. Daemones attempts to drive Labrax out from the temple to where Trachalio is, just at the time when the search is being made for the girls. The trained actors playing the girls slip behind the scenes, and ready substitutes are sent out, as Ampelisca and Palaestra, to remain mute. During the excitement of the search, and his expulsion from the temple, Labrax, still within the temple, probably unseen, says nothing. The actor no doubt is changing his costume, and does not emerge from the temple as Labrax until vs. 710, when he suddenly becomes talkative.

With these apparently difficult groupings made, there is little hesitation about the others. Sceparnio and Trachalio are assigned to the third actor, who has eleven verses between II, 3, vs. 403 and II, 4, vs. 414 to assume the different part. The fourth actor must be Daemones to the end of III, 3, Charmides in III, 4, arriving twenty-nine verses after the opening of the scene, and Daemones again in IV, 1. For the second change a pause must be granted, to which there should be no great objection since the stage is vacant at this point. The fifth actor can be spokesman for the *Piscatores* (II, 1 and 2), Gripus, fisherman (in IV and V), spokesman for the *Lorarii* (III, 4—6) and Ptolemocratia in I, 5. This latter combination requires several changes of dress, but does not tax the voice.

Actor I	Actor II	Actor III	Actor IV	Actor V
Plesidippus	Labrax	Sceparnio	Daemones	Piscatores
Palaestra	Ampelisca	Trachalio	Charmides	Gripus
				Ptolemocratia
				Lorarii

Stichus.

We have very good evidence that the *Stichus* was meant to be given by a company of three.⁵⁶ We find that the two couples Panegyris and Epignomus, and Pamphila and Pamphilippus are each interpreted by one actor; Plautus carefully prevents each pair from meeting on the stage and only reports their meetings.⁵⁷

Stichus.

Act	Panegyris	Pamphila	Antipho	Gelasimus	Crocotium	Puer Pinacium	Epignomus	Pamphilippus	Stichus	Sangarinus	Stephanium	Mulieres	Tibicen
I 1	—	—											
2	—	— 6	— /8		silent —								
3				— 4,5	— /8								
II 1				—		—							
2	— /4			—		— /5							
III 1							—		18/ spoken to only — at vs. 418			Epignomus' women — vss. 418, 435, 453	
2				—			— /8						
IV 1			— /9				18/ —	—					
2			—				— 7	— /11					
V 1									—				
2									— /2	—			
3											—		
4									—	—			silent — at vs. 758
5										—	—		
6									—	—			
7									—	—			

Crocotium, I, 2, is silent, arrives, and passes by at vs. 150.

Similarly we learn that Gelasimus and Stichus are taken by the third man.⁵³ In addition to this the exits show that Crocotium is part of the function of Panegyris' actor.⁵⁹ There is a seeming conflict between Crocotium and Panegyris in I, 2, but since Crocotium does not say a word, merely appears to receive orders from Panegyris, after which she departs, she is probably played by any untrained

actor in that scene. This first trained actor in carrying these rôles is unoccupied in the latter part of the play, so that we may add Stephanium (V, 3 and 5) to his part. The second actor, besides having Pamphila (I, 1 and 2) and Pamphilippus (IV, 1 and 2) may also have Sangarinus in Act V, and Pinacium (Act II). Unprovided for now is only Antipho who can be taken by the player for Gelasimus if there be a pause between III, 2 and IV, 1 when there is a vacant stage. The two other changes that must be made are covered by early exits.⁶⁰

Actor I	Actor II	Actor III
Panegyris	Pamphila	Antipho
Crocotium	Pinacium	Gelasimus
Epignomus	Pamphilippus	Stichus
Stephanium	Sangarinus	

Trinummus.

On studying the unmotivated early exits of the *Trinummus* one is surprised that of all those which indicate changes of costume only two can be used. Closer investigation shows that if Callicles left at vs. 1165 (V, 2), instead of staying to speak the one line later (vss. 1186—1187), the numerous hints would be just as certain indications of economy as they are in other plays. Omitting vs. 1186 we find the following possible: Callicles and Lesbonicus are taken by the first actor, who in II, 4 has twelve verses for change from Lesbonicus to Callicles. In III, 1 the actor again has twelve verses for his change from Callicles to Lesbonicus, and in III, 2, thirteen verses from Lesbonicus back to Callicles, while in the last act he has a little more time (vs. 1165 to 1185) from Callicles' departure to Lesbonicus' appearance. The second actor could take Charmides and Philto without any quick changes. The third actor has ten verses in IV, 2 to be able to impersonate Stasimus and the *Sycophanta*, and the fourth man has thirteen verses in III, 2 for any changes between appearance as Megaronides and Lysiteles. This arrangement would require only four actors, and may have been the one used in Plautus' original.

Actor I	Actor II	Actor III	Actor IV
Callicles	Charmides	Stasimus	Megaronides
Lesbonicus	Philto	Sycophanta	Lysiteles

Following the text as it is to-day, five actors are necessary. The early exit indicates that Philto and Callicles⁶¹ are played by one actor. Lysiteles and the *Sycophanta* comprise the part of the second actor, Lesbonicus and Megaronides that of the third, who has thirteen verses between the two appearances in III, 2 and III, 3.⁶² The remainig rôles of Charmides and Stasimus are solo parts.

Trinummus.

Act	Luxuria et Inopia	Megaronides	Callicles	Lysiteles	Philo	Lesbonicus	Stasimus	Charmides	Sycophanta
Prologue	—								
I 1		—							
2		—	— /23						
II 1				—					
2				—	—				
3					—				
4					— /20	— /12	—		
III 1			— /12				—		
2				— /12		— /12	—		
3		—	—						
IV 1								—	
2								—	— /10
3							—	—	
4			— /5				—	—	— /5
V 1				—					
2			—	—		52/ —		—	

Actor I

Callicles

Philo

Actor II

Lysiteles

Sycophanta

Actor III

Lesbonicus

Megaronides

Actor IV

Charmides

Actor V

Stasimus

Truculentus.

The *Truculentus* requires a troupe of only four actors. Astaphium's rôle makes great demands, yet it can be combined with that of the *Ancilla* in IV, 3 and Cyamus⁶³

Truculentus.

Act	Diniarchus	Astephium	Truculentus	Phronesium	Stratophanes	Cyamus	Strabax	Calicles	Ancilla	Syra	Pithecium Archilis Ancillae
Prologue											
I 1	—										
2	—	—									
II 1		—									
2		—	— /7								
3	—	— /17									
4	—			— /14							
5				—							silent, addressed — at vs. 477
6		— /36		—	—						silent, see — vs. 531
7				—		—					
8				— /12	—						
III 1		20/ —					—				
2		—	—								
IV 1	—										
2	—	— /17									
3	—							— /4	— /14	— /14	—
5	— /9	—		—							
V 1		—		—	—		23/ —				

in II, 7. Diniarchus (I, II, 3 and IV, 4) then can be given in combination with Strabax (III, 1 and V, 1), to one player, since he has nine verses at the end of IV, 4 and twenty-three in V, 1, in which to change his costume. In the same way Phro-

nesium (II, 4 to 8, IV, 4, V, 1), the Truculentus (II, 2, III, 2), and Syra (IV, 3) are to be assigned to the third actor, while the fourth takes Stratophanes (II, 6—8 and in V, 1) and Callicles (IV, 3). The arrangement is:

Actor I	Actor II	Actor III	Actor IV
Astaphium	Phronesium	Stratophanes	Strabax
Ancilla	Truculentus	Callicles	Diniarchus
Cyamus	Syra		

An attempt has been made to show that Plautus frequently gives clues as to how the rôles in the respective comedies may be combined so as to effect the most economic distribution of parts among the members of a troupe of actors, usually not exceeding five in number. Frequently the early exit and late entrance combined with unimportant dialogues and monologues, occasionally the short report of a scene which would demand a troupe larger than was at Plautus' disposal give the guiding hint. In some plays these otherwise reliable guides seem to be doubtful, yet an analysis of final scenes leads one to believe that in these plays there are remnants of Plautus' own technique side by side with that of later managers and producers.

Notes.

¹ See above, page 25.

² See above, page 27.

³ See above, page 28.

⁴ Prologue vss. 142 ff.:

*nunc internosse ut nos possitis facilius,
ego has habeo usque (hic) in petaso pinnulas;
tum meo patri autem torulus inerit aureus
sub petaso: id signum Amphitruoni non erit.*

⁵ Vs. 545 the Mercury-Sosia goes *ex urbe*, i. e. to the sky. Vs. 550 he is followed by the Juppiter-Amphitruo. Vs. 551 Amphitruo and Sosia appear *a portu* from the opposite side of the stage (See E. F. Rambo, *Wing Entrances in Roman Comedy*, Class. Phil., 1915, p. 415). Vs. 854 Amphitruo goes off to the harbor to get Naucrates, after commanding Sosia to go into the house. Vs. 856 Sosia enters the house, not without first asking himself whether the "other" Sosia is within. Vs. 860 Juppiter-Amphitruo tells the spectators that he has returned *a cenaculo superiore* whither he went vs. 550. Vs. 955 Sosia enters out of the house and vs. 968 is sent off *ad portum* by Juppiter-Amphitruo. Vs. 975 Juppiter-Amphitruo calls the Mercury-Sosia to him, as *divine* Sosia. Vs. 984 Mercury-Sosia comes running up the street, telling who he is. Vs. 1005 Amphitruo comes back alone after his vain search for Naucrates at the harbor and in the city. Vs. 1007 Mercury-Sosia enters the house, refuses to permit Amphitruo to enter. In Act IV fragments and Sc. 3 the two Amphitruos are on the stage, but Juppiter is not seen by the true Amphitruo. Vs. 1075 Amphitruo, alone on the stage with Bromia, informs her who he is. Act V, 2 Juppiter-Amphitruo, unseen, speaks to the true Amphitruo. Act V, 3 the true Amphitruo goes into the house to his wife.

⁶ In V, 2 Philaenium is present during the whole scene vss. 851—941, but speaks only a few lines: vss. 894, 901, 939 and 941. Since she speaks at intervals, we cannot assign these few lines to a supernumerary. There is however the possibility that the Greek original and Plautus in his first performance left Philaenium silent so that four actors would have sufficed.

⁷ See above, page 45.

⁸ Argyrippus leaves at the end of III, 4 and appears at the opening of V, 1.

⁹ See above, page 28.

¹⁰ See above, page 29.

¹¹ See above, page 31.

¹² See above, page 47.

¹³ See above, page 47.

¹⁴ K. Kunst, *Zeitschrift für österreichische Mittelschulen*, I, 1924, 212 ff. is quoted: Die Übertragung des Namens Strobilus auf beide Sklaven entspricht einem reinen Zufall, der ein und demselben Schauspieler beide Rollen zuwies. See O. Köhler, *Bursian's Jahresbericht*, Bd. 216—219, ganze Reihe, zweiter Teil (Bd. 217, p. 62).

¹⁵ This was done by producers of Shakespeare. The Folio Edition of the *Tragedy of Richard III.*, which is considered Shakespeare's, was probably cut so that in the later quarto edition the rôles of Rivers and Dorset show signs of tampering. In II, 4, Dorset's speech does not seem to fit him. Also, there is a *Riu* (probably Rivers) before the rubric: Bishop of Ely. See Engelen, *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch* 1926, vol. 62, pp. 68—74.

¹⁶ See above, page 37.

¹⁷ See above, page 47 f.

¹⁸ Kelley Rees: *The So-called Rule of Three Actors in Classical Greek Drama*. Chicago 1908, p. 55.

¹⁹ The prologue vss. 35—39 refers to the captives as on the stage. Lindsay (1900 Edition of the *Captivi* vs. 252) believes that the captives remain on the stage throughout the first act and that there is no pause and vacant stage between Act I, 2, vs. 194, and Act II, 1, vs. 195. Conrad (p. 58) is undecided whether the stage is left vacant at this point, but considers Hegio's motivated exit sufficient reason to believe that there is no pause here.

The combination of rôles may help to solve the difficulty. The exits show that Plautus probably intended one actor to play Tyndarus and Ergasilus. This would make it impossible for the trained actor playing Tyndarus to be on the stage simultaneously with Ergasilus in Act I. Ergasilus leaves (vs. 191) three verses before the end of the scene. Hegio in returning may go very slowly, so that while he is reciting the last three lines of the scene, the actor for Ergasilus may be given some time in changing to Tyndarus. There may even be a slight pause and a vacant stage between Hegio's departure and the entrance of Tyndarus and Philocrates.

There is however the possibility that mute actors were playing the captives during the first act. In that case, a quick shift must take place before vs. 195 in which the trained actor is substituted for the mute. This would not eliminate the interval between the actor's exit as Ergasilus and his re-appearance as Tyndarus. It seems more practical to allow a pause and a vacant stage between vss. 194—195, between Hegio's departure and the entrance of the *captivi* with the *lorarii*.

²⁰ See above, pp. 23, 37, 38.

²¹ V, 1, Stalagmus probably steps up at the very end of the scene at vs. 950 *ubi estis vos*,

²² See above, page 39.

²³ Prologue vs. 10 ff.:

*nos postquam populi rumore intelleximus
studiose expetere vos Plautinas fabulas,
anticuam eius edimus comoediam etc.*

²⁴ See above, page 31 f. and page 36.

²⁵ See above, page 35.

²⁶ A small pause must be allowed between IV, 2 and V, 1 to complete this change.

²⁷ See above, page 48.

²⁸ IV, 1, vs. 472: *damnosos maritos sub basilica quaerito.*

²⁹ The basilica was probably the Basilica Aemilia built 179 B. C. See Huelsen,

Mitt. Arch. Inst. VIII, 1893, p. 283.

³⁰ See above, page 18.

³¹ See above, page 24.

³² See above, page 21 and page 30.

³³ See above, page 21 and page 29 f. and page 31.

³⁴ See above, page 52.

³⁵ Miss E. F. Rambo, *Class. Phil.* 1915, p. 420 f. points out that Menaechmus I, locked out of his house, goes to the forum to get advice on his next move (vs. 700). At vs. 701 Menaechmus II enters *a peregre*. As in this case, so throughout the play, the two characters are carefully sent in and out different entrances, and are not allowed to meet. This not only proves that the entrances were on different ends of the stage, but is an aid in preventing the audience from becoming confused. A slight pause must be assumed between vss. 700—701 to permit the actor leaving as Menaechmus I *ad forum*, to run around to the other side and appear vs. 701 as Menaechmus II *a peregre*.

³⁶ See above, page 23.

³⁷ It is to be noted that in this case, where the two characters Menaechmus I and II are identical, Menaechmus II in the final scene is treated as a separate rôle. The plot absolutely requires a recognition scene, although Plautus limits it to three people. (See below pp. 91 f.)

³⁸ See above, page 30.

³⁹ See above, page 30.

⁴⁰ See above, page 31.

⁴¹ See above, page 32.

⁴² See above, page 33.

⁴³ See above, page 25.

⁴⁴ See above, page 20.

⁴⁵ See above, page 24.

⁴⁶ See above, page 34.

⁴⁷ See above, page 34.

⁴⁸ Sagaristio departs at the end of IV, 6 with a *vale*, leaving Toxilus, Dordalus and the silent *Virgo* on the stage. Toxilus and Dordalus exchange pleasantries for a while (fourteen verses) before they call out Saturio. They could have called him out at the opening of the scene, if he had been available.

⁴⁹ Leo (*Gött. Nachr.* 1902, p. 376) found it strange that the parasite disappears and is not at the banquet. Those present are Dordalus, Toxilus, Sagaristio, Paegnium, and Lemniselenis. If the parasite's rôle is to be combined either with that of Paegnium or

Sagaristio he cannot be present for this reason. His absence is therefore probably not to be explained by saying that the presence of free citizens would disturb the unity of the celebration as Prescott suggests (*Class. Phil.*, 1916, p. 129).

⁵⁰ See above, page 33.

⁵¹ See above, page 26.

⁵² See above, page 33.

⁵³ See above, page 21.

⁵⁴ See above, page 28.

⁵⁵ See above, page 37 f.

⁵⁶ Leo (*Gött. Nachr.* 1902, p. 391) suggests the following: the rôles of the *Stichus* can easily be divided among three actors. One must however take for granted that Plautus was writing the rôles of Antiphon and Gelasimus for a virtuoso. This probably was Pellio.

⁵⁷ See above, page 49.

⁵⁸ See above, page 50.

⁵⁹ See above, page 39 f.

⁶⁰ Antipho I, 2 leaves eleven verses early, and in IV, 1 nine verses before the scene ends.

⁶¹ See above, page 38.

⁶² See above, page 35.

⁶³ See above, page 22.

IV. The Omission of important Scenes.

An attempt has been made to show the most economical doubling of rôles, resulting from the observance of certain definite and frequent suggestions offered by the Plautine plays. When the necessary number of actors and the parts which each one plays have been ascertained, certain difficulties in the plots have new light thrown upon them. In several of the comedies, one is surprised to find that the play closes without a reconciliation or recognition on the stage. Instead, such scenes are left to be imagined as taking place off the stage. An examination of the distribution of the *dramatis personae* among the determined number of actors shows that Plautus did not have sufficient actors to perform what could easily have been the most effective, if not the most elaborate, scene of the whole play. There are scenes, too, in which characters who would be expected to converse readily are disappointingly silent. In such instances the actor who has been playing the part in question is probably on the stage acting another part, and an untrained actor is playing the rôle of the mute person. In this chapter an attempt will be made to give the instances in which Plautus apparently felt the limitations of a small troupe, and permitted them to influence the plots of his plays.

Amphitruo.

The *Amphitruo* is played by three actors, so far as the extant lines of the play indicate.¹ The rôle of the true Sosia in I, 1 is accordingly assigned to the actor playing Alcumena, Blepharo and Bromia. After Juppiter, Amphitruo, and Juppiter, a second time, have appeared in succession to confuse Alcumena, Juppiter sends the true Sosia to the harbor (III, 3, vs. 967):

tu gubernatorem a navi huc evoca verbis meis

Blepharonem, uti re divina facta mecum prandeat.

Sosia not recognizing Juppiter as the pseudo-Amphitruo, answers (III, 3, vs. 969):

iam hic ero quom illic censebis esse me.

He, however, not only fails to return soon with Blepharo, but the true Sosia disappears permanently from the play.² Nor is there any possibility of confusing the true Sosia with the pseudo-Sosia who figures in the latter part of the play, for there are specific statements of identity.³ Blepharo nevertheless appears in IV, 3 and in the now fragmentary scenes. With Blepharo and the pseudo-Sosia on the

stage the true Sosia cannot appear, since his part is taken by the actor for Blepharo. The only possibility of including the true Sosia would be to employ a fourth actor, or a mute. The manuscripts show no traces of lines for Sosia, and Plautus possibly intended the excitement of the last scenes to eliminate the spectator's desire to see the true Sosia again. On account of the limited troupe, Plautus could not well include a scene in which Sosia and pseudo-Sosia, and Amphitruo and pseudo-Amphitruo are recognized by each other. Had he sent in silent players the ending would have been much weaker than the one we have, in which Juppiter, as a voice from above, informs Amphitruo of the deceit.

Casina.

The slaves Olympio and Chalinus, both in love with Casina, are being used by their masters to obtain the girl for themselves (I, 1). Cleustrata rightly suspecting (II, 2—3) her husband Lysidamus of being in love with Casina, determines to thwart his plans and consults her neighbor Myrrhina, whose husband Alcesimus is Lysidamus' rival. Lysidamus (II, 3) confessing his love for Casina is overheard by Cleustrata. After Chalinus (II, 4), to whom Cleustrata and her son have promised Casina, refuses to help Lysidamus, he turns to the more willing Olympio (II, 5). Olympio, acting for Lysidamus, and Chalinus, acting for Cleustrata's son, draw lots (II, 6) for the girl; Olympio gets her. Chalinus (II, 7), while eaves-dropping, learns that Lysidamus and Olympio (II, 8) intend to take Casina first to Alcesimus' house, then to the country where a feast is to be provided for her and Olympio. Alcesimus and Lysidamus (III, 1) make the arrangements. Cleustrata (III, 2), hoping to frustrate their plans by keeping Myrrhina at home, refuses to receive her neighbor until after the wedding, and causes a quarrel between Alcesimus and Lysidamus (III, 4). In the meantime Pardalisca has been terrified by Casina's threats to murder both Olympio and Lysidamus (III, 5). The cooks and provisions are nevertheless brought by Olympio. The women, however, dress up Chalinus as Casina, who appears as bride at the house of Alcesimus (IV, 4). The "bride" beats Olympio and Lysidamus (IV, 4), who fall into the hands of the women as they leave the house. Lysidamus (V, 4) begs pardon of his wife who has already ridiculed Olympio (V, 2 and 3). Cleustrata forgives him upon the advice of Myrrhina who offers as reason (V, 4, vs. 1006):

hanc ex longa longiorem ne faciamus fabulam.

The epilogue informs the audience that Casina, a free-born girl, is to marry Cleustrata's son.

It has been shown¹ that the *Casina* in its extant form requires a company of six actors, while there are indications that in its original form only five were needed. In either case Myrrhina and her husband Alcesimus are played by one actor. This

explains why Alcesimus, who does not appear after III, 4, is not made to face his wife in the last scene. This certainly would be expected since Alcesimus has countenanced such an affair in his house, and therefore deserves the same treatment as Lysidamus. However, the presentation of such a scene would require an additional actor. The shortage of actors seems to be the most plausible explanation of Alcesimus' failure to appear.

Epidicus.

In obedience to Stratippocles' commands, Epidicus had bought the music girl Acropolistis, and had told Periphanes that she was Telestis, the long lost child of Philippa and Periphanes (I, 1). When Stratippocles returns from war, he brings another girl, bought with borrowed money. Since his friend Chaeribulus cannot give him financial aid (I, 2), Epidicus must procure funds. He again deceives Periphanes (II, 2) and persuades him to buy a *tibicina*, supposedly Acropolistis whom his son is not to see. The pseudo-Acropolistis is taken to Apoecides (IV, 1), friend of Periphanes, while Stratippocles (III, 2) receives the money. All goes well until another soldier, desiring to buy Acropolistis, discloses the substitution of some other *fidicina*, and forces the girl to confess to Periphanes (III, 4). The latter has scarcely recovered from his anger toward Epidicus, when Philippa (IV, 1) discovers that a stranger has been imposed upon them as their daughter (IV, 2). Periphanes, comforting Philippa, sends her home, and promises to find their child and punish Epidicus (IV, 2, vs. 601):

*ne fle, mulier, intro abi, habe animum bonum,
ego illam reperiam.*

(vs. 603):

*Inveniam, tace.
abi modo intro atque hanc adserva Circam Solis filiam.
ego relictis rebus Epidicum operam quaerendo dabo:
si invenio exitiabilem ego illi faciam hunc ut fiat diem.*

While Epidicus, who has seen Periphanes buying thongs, is consulting with Stratippocles, the *Danista* brings Telestis, Stratippocles' wartime sweetheart (V, 1). Epidicus recognizes her as the daughter of Periphanes and Philippa, and introduces Stratippocles to his half-sister (V, 1). When Apoecides and Periphanes (V, 2) arrive to punish Epidicus, he almost impudently acknowledges all his misdeemeanors, and then tells of the discovery of Periphanes' child (V, 2, vs. 717):

Apoecides: ain tu te illius invenisse filiam? Epidicus: Inveni et domi est.

Apoecides incredulous asks a second time (V, 2, vs. 719):

quamne hodie per urbem uterque sumu' defessi quaerere?

Reassured by the slave, Periphanes makes him many promises, and grants him

his freedom. The play ends without a meeting of the parents and the child for whom a long search has been made.

The explanation for this rather unsatisfactory and incomplete ending is to be found in the restrictions placed upon Plautus by a troupe of four actors.⁵ A recognition scene requiring Philippa and Telestis to be on the stage with Periphanes and Stratippocles is made impossible by the necessity of having one actor play both Philippa and Telestis, another, Periphanes and Stratippocles. In V, 1 Telestis and Stratippocles are sent into the house, whither Philippa had presumably gone in IV, 2. Apocides and Periphanes are left to settle their quarrel with Epidicus, and become reconciled with him. Leaving the reunion of the family to the imagination of the spectators, Plautus closes the play with the reconciliation of master and slave, thereby avoiding a scene which would demand a troupe of more than four actors.

Menaechmi.

While Peniculus, parasite, is standing before the house of Menaechmus I, pitying himself (I, 1), Menaechmus I leaves the house quarreling with his wife (I, 2). The two men decide to arrange a feast with Erotium (I, 3 and 4). Menaechmus II with his slave Messenio, arriving from abroad (II, 1) meets the cook (II, 2). Mistaking Menaechmus II for Menaechmus I, the cook informs them that they have returned too soon, but nevertheless calls Erotium (II, 3). She coaxes the perplexed Menaechmus II into her house to the banquet. As he leaves with Erotium's cloak (III, 2), he is seen by the parasite. The latter, angered and disappointed at being deprived of a meal, reports all he has seen to the wife of Menaechmus I. Menaechmus I is forced to demand the return of his wife's cloak from Erotium (IV, 2). Unsuccessful in this, he goes to his friends (IV, 3). Menaechmus II in his search for Messenio (V, 1), meets his sister-in-law and insults her. She sends for her father, who interprets his actions as symptoms of lunacy (V, 2). By now feigning madness Menaechmus II escapes from his sister-in-law and her father. While the latter is explaining the case to a *Medicus* (V, 4), Menaechmus I appears (V, 5). At the command of the *Senex* the slaves proceed to bind him, but are prevented from completing their task by Messenio (V, 6). Menaechmus I not knowing his deliverer willingly grants Messenio his freedom. In the meantime Menaechmus II returns (V, 8), scolds Messenio for negligence, and is provoked to hear his slave's claim to freedom. The problem is solved when Menaechmus I steps up to Menaechmus II, and Messenio (V, 9) discovers that there are two Menaechmi. The twin brothers decide to leave town without consulting the wife of Menaechmus I.

It seems strange that the recognition of the brothers takes place before Messenio alone; we should expect the presence of the *Senex*, Erotium, the *Matrona* and possibly the parasite⁶ and cook, at least the important characters⁷ who have

been confusing the two Menaechmi. But with the troupe limited to four actors, Plautus could have introduced only the *Matrona*. Had he introduced the *Matrona*, he would have been forced to bring in Erotium who was deceived to the same extent. Erotium is however played by the actor for Menaechmus II and cannot appear. Since the same actor impersonates also the *Senex*, he is eliminated. Likewise the parasite cannot be present for his player is already there as Messenio. Plautus has simplified the last scene, by including in it only one witness of the recognition, Messenio, who had been the very last to confuse the brothers. By cutting down the number of witnesses Plautus suits the play to a troupe of four actors.

Mercator.

Charinus (I, 1) while in Rhodes had fallen in love with a beautiful girl Pasicompsa, whom he had brought home, ostensibly as a servant for his mother. Demiphio (II, 1), his father, sees the girl at the ship, believes the slave's statement that she was intended for his wife, and wants to get her for himself. Lysimachus, his friend, plans to stay in town to help Demiphio, sending word to his wife in the country that law-cases were detaining him (II, 2). Demiphio meets his son, and is unsuccessful in persuading the latter to sell the girl at a high price (II, 3). In the meantime Lysimachus (III, 1) buys the girl, and takes her to Demiphio. Eutyclus, son of Lysimachus and friend of Charinus, attempts to buy the girl for Charinus (II, 4) but arrives too late. Since he has lost all trace of Pasicompsa, Charinus prepares to leave the country. Fortunately Dorippa, Lysimachus' wife, returns to town (IV, 1) and finds the strange woman there (IV, 2). She meets Lysimachus, he in vain tries to prove his innocence when cooks arrive (IV, 4) to arrange the feast. Syra, the maid, sent to get Dorippa's father, meets Eutyclus on the way, and informs him of Pasicompsa's whereabouts (IV, 5). Charinus is very impatient to see the girl (V, 2, vs. 915):

sed quin intro ducis me ad eam, ut videam?

He restrains himself with difficulty from entering the house before the quarrel between Eutyclus' parents has subsided. At vs. 956 they finally go in. Eutyclus returns to tell Demiphio and Lysimachus (IV, 4) that Charinus has met Pasicompsa, and that Dorippa has forgiven Lysimachus. Eutyclus ends by assuring the *senes* that Charinus will not be angry with them.

The *Mercator* in two instances seems to have been produced by three actors,⁸ and one can easily see why the meeting of Pasicompsa and Charinus must take place off the stage, even though it would be one of the most important moments of the whole play. If the actor for Pasicompsa must also play Eutyclus, the girl cannot come out of the house when Eutyclus tells Charinus that she has been found. Nor can Dorippa come out to forgive her husband, since her part is taken

by the player of Eutychus and Pasicompsa. Demipho, furthermore, seems very anxious that his son should forgive him. Again Eutychus must re-assure him, for Lysimachus is taken by the actor playing Charinus, on the stage with Demipho in the last scene. It is therefore much simpler for Eutychus, who knows all the persons concerned, to be the link between them, satisfy them all, and the expectations of the spectators besides. Through Eutychus Plautus avoids a scene which would have demanded a troupe considerably larger than the one at his disposal.

Mostellaria.

The play opens with a dispute between Tranio and Grumio, slaves of Theopropides who has been away over three years. Philolaches, son of Theopropides (I, 2) laments his own weakness which manifested itself after he no longer was watched over by his father. Together with Philematium his mistress (I, 3) and two other friends, Callidamates and Delphium (I, 4), he is enjoying a banquet, when Tranio (II, 1) announces the return of Theopropides. The house is made quiet and locked from the outside (II, 1) so that Tranio is able to convince his master that Philolaches has moved out because the house was haunted (II, 2). The *Danista* comes up to both, demanding (III, 1) interest on money borrowed for the purchase of Philematium. Tranio aptly explains that he had borrowed the money to buy a neighbor's house. Telling Simo that Theopropides wishes to build a house like his, he gets permission to inspect the house (III, 2) which Philolaches is supposed to have bought. Just as they are leaving the house (IV, 2) the *Phaniscus* meets them (V, 1) and disillusiones the father about his son's affairs. The slave cleverly saves himself and Philolaches from being punished by the infuriated father (V, 1). At the right moment Callidamates comes (V, 2), sent as peace-maker by the whole drinking party (V, 2, vss. 1126—1127):

nunc ego de sodalitate solus sum orator datus

qui a patre eius conciliarem pacem

and makes a special plea for Philolaches (V, 2 vss. 1154—1155):

omnium primum sodalem me esse scis gnato tuo

is adi[i]t me, nam illum prodire pudet in conspectum tuum

propterea quia fecit quae te scire scit.

Because Philolaches is sorry, his father considers an immediate pardon in order. On Callidamates' request Tranio the arch-intriguer is also pardoned.

Though we expect the father to meet the son on the stage and rebuke him for his misdemeanors, such a scene was probably too difficult when Plautus was writing the *Mostellaria* for four actors.⁹ As the exits have shown, Plautus probably intended one actor to play both Philolaches and Theopropides. In that case he was forced to let some member of the party, other than Philolaches, come to beg

pardon, and bring the news of the reconciliation to Philolaches who supposedly is offstage with the other banqueters. By this method the audience is satisfied and the play is adapted to the size of the troupe.

Pseudolus.

In the *Pseudolus*¹⁰ it would seem that four trained actors and three supernumeraries could present the play. In I, 2 Ballio¹⁰ gives the necessary orders to his slaves whom he calls to the door. After that he turns to go off on business, telling another slave to precede him. But he stops suddenly, returns and calls into the house to his *meretrices*, summoning them by name, and giving each some advice. Had Plautus had an unlimited number of actors he might possibly have let the *meretrices* appear with the slaves, and it would not have been necessary for Ballio to return and deliver a second *edictionem*. By arranging the scene so that the slaves and *meretrices* do not appear simultaneously, Plautus produces a very lively scene which was an interesting show for his audience. If he had had a dozen actors, he might have made a greater display, in having them all appear at once.

Rudens.

The situation is given by the prologue Arcturus. Palaestra, daughter of Daemones, whose villa is near the shore, had been stolen and brought to the *leno*, Labrax. Plesidippus fell in love with her and bought her, but the *leno* stole off to sea with her. A storm arose in which they were shipwrecked, but Ampelisca, the attendant, and Palaestra were saved in a boat. The *leno* had under false pretences lured Plesidippus to the temple of Venus, at the time when he was setting out to sea.

The play opens just after the storm. Plesidippus, on his way to the temple, meets Daemones and his slave Sceparnio (I, 1—2), ascertaining from them that no one has been at the temple. While he is talking with them, he sees some of the shipwrecked people, and runs to see whether the *leno* (I, 2) is among them. Palaestra and Ampelisca, separated in the storm, meet on the shore (I, 3 and 4), and are kindly received by Ptolemodratia, priestess of the temple of Venus, from whom they seek help and protection (I, 5). Trachalio, slave of Plesidippus, unsuccessful in obtaining information from the fishermen (II, 1 and 2) waits to get the story of the shipwreck from Ampelisca as she leaves the temple (I, 3). He comforts Palaestra who has lost the casket containing proofs that she was born free. Both women however become frantic when they see Labrax and Charmides (II, 6) also approaching the temple. Since Sceparnio refuses hospitality, Charmides and Labrax enter the temple (II, 7), where they lay hands on the girls. Daemones (III, 1) sends the girls out to the altar where Trachalio (III, 3) quiets them, then he drags Labrax out of the temple (III, 4), and protects the girls from further

annoyance (III, 5). Trachalio has in the meantime been sent for Plesidippus, telling him everything on the way (III, 6). In spite of the fact that they are meeting for the first time after the shipwreck, Plesidippus gives the girls a very cool greeting (III, 6, vs. 877):

verum sit velim.

tu mea Palaestra et Ampelisca, ibidem ilico

manete dum ego huc redeo.

just as he is about to depart again, while he had scarcely noticed them as he entered (III, 6, vs. 846):

Etiamne in ara tunc sedebant mulieres

quom ad me projectu's ire?

He drags the *leno* off to court (III, 6), Charmides following as the latter's advocate. Gripus, a fisherman, unseen by Daemones, returns with the wallet he has drawn from the sea (IV, 2) and has his rope trailing behind him. With Trachalio he gets into an argument (IV, 3), first over the rope, then over the wallet. Daemones coming to arbitrate (IV, 3) brings the women (IV, 4) with him. Gripus is persuaded to let the wallet be opened, and the trinkets are found which prove that Palaestra is the daughter of Daemones. Plesidippus is summoned (IV, 6) and is very anxious to meet Palaestra again:

(vs. 1274): *quid si curram?*

(vs. 1275): *etiamne eam adveniens salutem?*

and many questions follow these. At the end of the scene they enter the house (vs. 1280):

Plesidippus: duc me, mi patrone, quo lubet.

Labrax, after the judges have taken Palaestra from him (V, 1), returns hoping to get Ampelisca. Gripus who has been greatly dissatisfied for receiving no reward, finally gets some money from Daemones and Labrax (V, 3).

Of all these scenes III, 6 is the most striking. Here for the first time since the shipwreck the lovers meet, but Plesidippus has no greeting for his sweetheart. He merely calls to both girls as he is about to go to court with the *leno*. Throughout III, 4 and 5 the two girls have been crouching beside the altar, while Labrax has threatened them, yet they have not spoken a word. This seems strange, since they were so eloquent (III, 3) in their pleadings that Trachalio protect them from the *leno*. Labrax indeed, gets no response when he speaks to Palaestra (III, 6, vs. 882):

oro, opsecro, Palaestra.

In this scene, besides the two girls, there are five other persons present: Plesidippus, Labrax, Trachalio, Charmides and the spokesman for the *lorarii*. Nowhere else are there so many actors present, but Plautus does not exceed the maximum (five) of speaking actors. Two of his important actors remain silent, and must

remain so because Plautus has only five trained actors and must use mute players for these two.¹¹ We have shown above¹² that the parts of Plesidippus and Palaestra, Labrax and Ampelisca belong to two actors respectively, except where the two girls are silent.

By a very neat shift it is possible to substitute mute actors for the trained players, so that the men may speak and the women remain silent in III, 6. Palaestra and Ampelisca have come out of the temple (III, 3, vs. 664), and have sought the protection of Trachalio, who advises them to sit down beside the altar. At the end of the scene (vss. 694—701) Palaestra invokes Venus for protection. While Trachalio prays to Venus (vss. 702—704) the girls take their place beside the altar. Immediately thereafter Trachalio sees Daemones coming out of the temple (III, 3, vs. 705):

Sed optume eccum exit senex patronus mihique et vobis

ordering Labrax to leave the shrine (III, 4, vs. 706):

exi e jano, natum quantum est hominum sacrilegissime.

The *leno* does not leave the temple until five verses have been spoken (vs. 710). Daemones looks for the girls who have run away¹³ when Trachalio warned them (vs. 705). When Daemones finds the girls, who cannot be seen by the audience, the mute players have been substituted for the trained actors. This makes it impossible for the women to take part in the dialogue of III, 4, 5 and 6. Yet Plautus has staged a very exciting scene, and has done it with a troupe of five actors.

Notes.

¹ See above, page 52 f.

² Shakespeare for similar reasons lets characters disappear unaccounted for. See W. J. Lawrence, *Shakespeare's Workshop*, Houghton Mifflin, 1928, p. 11 f.

³ See above, page 84, footnote 5.

⁴ See above, page 60 f.

⁵ See above, page 66.

⁶ F. Schmidt, p. 9, suggests that the final scene should have included either Peniculus, the *matrona* or the *senex*. He takes his suggestion from Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors*.

⁷ Shakespeare brings all the important characters into the last scene, twelve in all. See Engelen, *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch* 1926, p. 43.

⁸ See above, page 68.

⁹ See above, page 70.

¹⁰ See above, page 40 f.

¹¹ The mutes and unexplained absences are evidence against splitting one rôle among two or more actors.

¹² See above, page 76 ff.

¹³ Both women must slip out at this point, since there is no other opportunity, where the attention of the audience leaves them, for the *leno* frequently refers to them as being at the altar:

a) III, 4, vs. 723: *mihi non liceat meas ancillas Veneris de ara abducere?*

b) III, 4, vs. 759 he is threatened:

quid illas spectas? quas si attigeris, oculos eripiam tibi.

c) III, 4, vs. 768:

immo hasce ambas hic in ara ut vivas comburam, id volo.

d) III, 5, vs. 783:

meas quidem te invito et Venere et summo Jove

de ara capillo iam deripiam.

e) Finally the two slaves with Herculean cudgels are set on either side of the altar to guard the girls (III, 5, vss. 807—809).

Conclusion.

The aim of the preceding study has been to show that Plautus probably was limited by the number of actors at his disposal. It was to be expected that he would write for small companies, since there were no opportunities in his day for actors, even though they formed a respectable group in society. There were perhaps seven or eight days in the year when plays were given, there was no remuneration, no religious precedence, no prize, no honor to be won from participation in the *ludi scaenici*. One could not earn a living by acting, and it was difficult to find men with ability who would play at the infrequent festivals. Therefore Plautus, who was adapting plays from the Greek which were already arranged for small troupes, would be expected to suit the plays to small producing companies.

He appears to give evidence of this in his plays. Frequently a character leaves before the end of the scene, without any definite purpose or reason, while a second remains to hold a monologue which takes up time rather than that it forwards the action of the play. At the opening of the next scene a third character appears. It is very likely that the actor for the first character has been off dressing to appear as the third, while the second entertained the audience. The same thing is true of the unmotivated late entrance, preceded by the unimportant monologue. By these exits and entrances we are aided in determining how Plautus intended the rôles to be doubled, and assigned to members of a small troupe.

Plautus sometimes omits scenes from the action on the stage that are of utmost importance in the plot. One example is found in the *Asinaria* where a person who was supposedly present at the action taking place off stage describes the scene to the audience with very few words. Plautus probably would not have resorted to these narrations had he had all the actors he needed, for such scenes always require more actors than are at his disposal. By means of these two kinds of evidence it seemed possible to determine the smallest troupe which could produce the various plays. Some require only three actors, as the *Amphitruo*, *Stichus*, *Mercator*. Many, including the *Truculentus*, *Rudens*, and *Menaechmi* need four, while still others, among them the *Asinaria*, *Curculio*, and *Miles Gloriosus*, occupy at least five. Occasionally the plays, such as *Trinummus*, *Casina*, and *Persa* show signs of tampering by later producers, so that larger troupes are required to give the plays as extant than as Plautus staged them.

Since the plays appear to have been produced by such few players, some

peculiarities may be explained. Plautus must occasionally forego an elaborate final scene of recognition or reconciliation; thus in the *Menaechmi* he does not have sufficient actors for all important persons of the play. To introduce mutes to represent these characters would have made a very weak close, so Plautus omits the recognition or reconciliation. Occasionally however, within the play, as in the *Rudens*, Plautus does introduce mutes, when he does not have sufficient trained actors at his disposal.

There is evidence in the Plautine plays, therefore, which shows that Plautus probably did not have a boundless supply from which to choose his actors, and that by economizing greatly he suited the plays to small troupes.

General Index.

- Accius, 8.
 action, continuous, 42, note 18.
 Aemilia, Basilica, 86, note 29.
 Aesopus, 5, 7, 8, 9.
 Alexandria, 8.
Amphitruo, 52 f., 88, 98.
Andria, 3.
 Andronicus, Livius, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.
Apollinares, *Ludi*, 6.
 Archias, 9.
 Archon eponymous, 5.
 Aristotle, 11, note 1.
ars ludicra, 10.
Asinaria, 45 f., 53 f., 98.
 Atellan players, 9.
 Atellan plays, 8.
 Atilius Praenestinus, 8.
 Augustus, 7.
Aulularia, 46 f., 55 f.
Bacchides, 47 f., 57 f.
 Basilica Aemilia p. 86, note 29.
 Caecilius Statius, 8.
 Caesar, 10.
 Cantica, 43, note 30.
Captivi, 57, 59, 60.
Casina, 60 f., 89, 98.
 Q. Catulus, 9.
Ceriales, *Ludi*, 7.
 Chaerea, Fannius, 9.
 charts, 52 f.
 choral interludes, 3.
 choregus, 5.
chorodidascalos, 5.
 Cicero, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.
 Cincius Faliscus, 4, 8.
 circensian games, 5.
Cistellaria, 48 f., 62 f.
collegium, 8.
 Comedy, New, 3.
 companies, Elizabethan, 19.
contaminatio, 4.
 cult, state, 5.
Curculio, 63 ff., 98.
 Diomedes, 5.
 Dionysiac ritual, 5.
dominus gregis, 6.
 Donatus, 4, 8.
 Elizabethan companies, 19.
 Ennius, 4, 7.
 Entrances, late, 39.
Epidicus, 65 f., 90.
 Eros, 9.
 Evanthius, 5.
 Exits, motivated, 37.
 Exits, unmotivated, 20, 22 f., 24, 27, 29, 31, 33 f., 34, 36.
 Faliscus, Cincius, 4.
 Fannius Chaerea, 9.
 festivals, state, 9.
 Festus, 3.
 games, circensian, 5.
 guilds of actors and poets, 8.
 Gellius, 14, note 46.
Hecyra, 8.
 Hieronymus, 14, note 44.
histriones, 8.
 honors, 6.
 Horace, 5, 6.
 interludes, choral, 3.
 Laberius, 10.
 λαιτοουργία, 4.
lenocinium, 10.
 Lex Julia (18 B. C.), 10.
 Lex Julia Municipalis, 10.
librarii, 8.
 Livius Andronicus, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.
 Livy, 9, 10.
Ludi Apollinares, 6.

Ludi Ceriales, 7.
 „ *magni*, 5.
 „ *plebei*, 6.
 „ *Romani*, 6.
 „ *scaenici*, 7, 98.
 Macedon, 6.
 Macrobius, 15, note 64; 16, note 83.
magni, Ludi, 5.
 masks, 3, 4.
 Maximus, Valerius, 8.
 Megalesia, 7.
Menaechmi, 66 f., 91, 98 f.
 Menander, 5.
Mercator, 68 f., 92, 98.
Miles Gloriosus, 68, 71, 98.
 Mimes, 10.
 Minerva, Temple of, 8.
 Minucius Prothymus, 4, 8.
 monologues, length of, 18 f.
Mostellaria, 70, 72, 93.
 Naevius, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.
 New Comedy, 3.
 offstage action, 45.
 Panurgus, 9.
 Pellio, 7.
Persa, 73 f., 98.
personata fabula, 3.
plebei, Ludi, 6.
 Φιλόλογοι, 8.
 Pliny, 15, note 71.
Poenulus, 73, 75 f.
poetae, 8.
 Praenestinus, L. Atilius, 8.
 Prothymus, L. Minucius, 4, 8.

Pseudolus, 7, 76 f., 94.
 Quintilian, 4, 9, 10, 19.
 P. Quintius, 9.
 remuneration, actors', 6.
 ritual, Dionysiac, 5.
Romani, Ludi, 6.
 Roscius, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10.
Rudens, 76 ff., 94, 98, 99.
scaenici, Ludi, 7, 98.
scribae, 8.
 Shakespeare, 3, 51, note 5; 85, note 15; 96,
 note 2.
 Sibyl, 6.
 slaves, 7, 9.
 state cult, 5.
 state festivals 9.
 Statius, Caecilius, 8.
Stichus, 6, 49 f., 79 ff., 98.
 Strabo, Julius Caesar, 8.
 Strabo, of Pontos, 14, note 54.
 Sulla, 9.
 Symmachus, 7, 8.
 Temple of Minerva, 8.
 Terence, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8.
Thyestes, 6.
Trinummus, 81 f., 98.
Truculentus, 82 ff., 98.
 Turpio, Ambivius, 7, 8.
 Types, combination of, 18.
 vacant stage, 42, note 18.
 Valerius Maximus, 8.
 wages, 5.
 wigs, 4.
 Χοροῦ, 42, note 18.

Index of passages quoted in the text.

Amphitruo,

- prol. vs. 142, p. 27.
- II, 2, vs. 854, p. 27.
- III, 3, vs. 967, p. 28.
- III, 4, vs. 998, p. 17.
- IV, 3, vs. 1035, p. 25.

Aulularia,

- I, 2, vs. 103, p. 29.
- II, 5, vs. 328, p. 28.
- III, 3—5, p. 31.

Bacchides,

- II, 3, vs. 348, p. 37.

Captivi,

- I, 2, vs. 191, p. 23.
- II, 3, vs. 452, p. 37.
- III, 5, vs. 735, p. 38.

Casina,

- V, 3, vs. 960, p. 39.

Cistellaria,

- II, 1, G, vs. 524, p. 35.
- II, 3, vs. 596, p. 31.
- III, 1, vs. 649, p. 36.

Curculio,

- I, 3, vs. 158, p. 20.

Epidicus,

- I, 1, vs. 80, p. 29.
- I, 2, vs. 157, p. 24.
- III, 4a, vs. 492, p. 29.
- IV, 2, vs. 592, p. 21.
- IV, 2, vs. 603, p. 30.

Menaechmi,

- III, 3, vs. 548, p. 23.

Mercator,

- II, 2, vs. 32b, p. 26.
- IV, 4, vs. 770, p. 31.
- IV, 4, vs. 782, p. 30.

Miles gloriosus,

- II, 6, vs. 585, p. 25.
- IV, 6, vs. 1280, p. 32.
- IV, 8, vs. 1353, p. 33.

Mostellaria,

- I, 3, vs. 284, p. 20.
- II, 1, vs. 398, p. 34.
- II, 1, vs. 404, p. 24.
- III, 1, vs. 653, p. 36.

Poenulus,

- I, 3, vs. 444, p. 34.
- III, 5, vs. 805, p. 26.
- IV, 2, vs. 916, p. 33.
- V, 3, vs. 1142, p. 33.

Pseudolus,

- I, 2, vs. 157, p. 40.
- III, 2, vs. 892, p. 21.

Rudens,

- I, 2, vs. 159, p. 28.
- II, 4, vs. 414, p. 37.

Sfichus,

- I, 2, vs. 143, p. 26.
- I, 3, vs. 155, p. 39.

Trinummus,

- II, 4, vs. 580, p. 38.
- III, 2, vs. 716, p. 35.

Truculentus,

- II, 6, vs. 514, p. 22.
- IV, 2, vs. 757, p. 35.

Vita.

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